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(BIMONTHLY.)

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METHODIST REVIEW.

JANUARY, 1902.

ART. I.—EXPRESSION.

OF all modes of expression probably that by words is least significant and reliable. Since this statement is made by a professional user of words it is, to say the least, a rather remarkable confession. It is meant to be. But mark how words themselves borrow their significance from other modes of expression. When we wish to be graphically expressive we borrow things for words or comparison. A man said to me on the broad Pacific to-day, "This boat leaks like a basket." We say, a willowy form, rugged as an oak, "Stonewall" Jackson, Cromwell's Ironsides, and in the days of wooden ships "Old Ironsides" expressed the invulnerability of the ship *Constitution* as only words of borrowed and reinforced significance could.

How words have to be helped: by arrangement—"Up the high hill he heaves the huge round stone;" by rhythm, like the beat of waves on the shore, or the hoof beats of a war horse as he shakes the plain; by pleasing cadences that rise for action and fall for repose; by artistic allusions; by condensations and essences and elixirs, an acre of roses in a drop of attar from a slender Balkan vial; by ineffable suggestion, like the liquid dew of manly youth or the budding beauty of girlhood; and by provoking the play of the reader's imagination, setting him on fire to think and feel what is not expressed. After combining all these accessories let the perfume of flowers breathe or the wrath of a tempest roar through them, and you have far more than words; you have poetry which is literally a creation; not itself, but a creation

in the mind of the reader fair as a dream, magnificent as the singing stars in a Syrian night. But the indefiniteness of the meaning of words cannot be expressed in words. There is the classic example of him who tried to leave in his will a provision that there should be erected to him a golden statue brandishing a spear. The heirs insisted that the expensive adjective be applied to the spear only, that it be a statue holding a golden spear, while the lawyers as they received their fees for the long litigation insisted that a gilded spear would meet all requirements of the words; but when they got through there was not enough of the estate left to provide even that. What exhaustive wars have been waged to enforce *ex-parte* meanings of differently interpreted treaties!

When the realm of philosophy comes to be considered—the fogs, shoals, quicksands encountered—the embarrassment of uncertain charts over inextricable quagmires is more troublesome than the attempted understanding of treaties. Hegel is said to have had sixteen loving pupils, every one of whom understood his teaching differently, and the interpretation of every pupil would have been repudiated by the teacher. Where the brightest sunlight and clearest headlands are to be expected, where mind seeks to know itself and express its knowledge most clearly, the Cimmerian darkness is densest, the lighthouses fewest—and those still lighted by old whale-oil lamps. Because of the uncertainties of language one of the three great professions of the world is devoted to its interpretation. Attempting to be clear, a legal instrument, for example, a deed, is one of the most involved, complicated, tangled, intricate bits imaginable of meandering through unexplainable old English. The world was lately told that a most eminent lawyer in New York had so made his own will that the objects desired by him could not be attained. Words may even convey a meaning exactly contrary to what is designed by the speaker: "Methinks the lady doth protest too much." George Eliot says, "Our words have wings, but fly not where we would." Samuel Johnson said, "Words are the daughters of earth, and things are the

sons of heaven;" Dr. Madden, trying to quote him, said, "Words are men's daughters, but God's sons are things." So Christ quoting from the Old Testament nearly always was regardless of words, or designedly varied them to more vividly give the sense. It may glimmer in upon one's thought that God's words are definite and full of highest meaning. True. But his words are creative acts. If he did say in Hebrew, millennia before Hebrew was vocalized, "Let there be light," it was expressive of a creative act that infinite light revealed. When God would tell Abraham of the multitude of his seed he did not utter words about incomprehensible trillions; he showed him the stars of the sky and the sands of the shore. Christ's words are precious beyond expression because they have his life for a background and interpretation. They would be worthless else. Actions speak louder than words.

How different are wordless modes of expression! A two-hours-old chicken never mistakes the mother hen's call to food, or to brooding, or the intimation of a hawk. No man mistakes the meaning of a mad bull or the suggestions of the watchdog. The cat couchant, creeping, silent, in act to spring, has a very different expression from that same animal purring, bunched up, butting against one's legs, evidently having just eaten the canary. A serpent does not talk—not nowadays—but it is death to a bird that sees his sinuous movements and catches the fascinating glitter of his eye. So man when he wants to be most significant is silent. How utterly inappropriate seem those long orations of Homer's heroes just previous to personal combat! Everybody knows that they were not uttered. If they had been there would have been no fight; night would have come. Homer had certain facts to relate, as the ground of hostilities, so he put them into the mouths of his warriors; but one flash of a falchion or a spear point standing a handbreadth out behind a pierced neck is far more significant. When a woman is deeply indignant she does not talk; speech cannot express it. She looks with steady glare beyond the object of her

scorn, as if nothing were there, and is still; a mouse would call for more expression. A sudden horror never finds expression in words. There may be a scream, but if the horror is deep enough even that is frozen. A robber may say, "Your money or your life," once, to attract attention; after that he lets that enlarging mouth of the pistol do the persuading. Every reader of it remembers the scene in "Lalla Rookh" when "he of Gazna" invaded India and said to the youthful warrior alone beside his native river,

> Live, live to share
> The trophies and the crowns I bear.

What was the answer? No word:

> Silent that youthful warrior stood,
> Silent he pointed to the flood
> All crimson with his country's blood,
> Then sent his last remaining dart,
> For answer, to the invader's heart.

We are sorry to find later that the word "to" is meaningless. When Gauthier infamously lied about the girl in Browning's "Count Gismond," what did she answer?

> I? What answered I? As I live
> I never fancied such a thing
> As answer possible to give.
> What says the body when they spring
> Some monster torture-engine's whole
> Strength on it? No more says the soul.

So Job's friends had talked philosophy glibly enough, and Job had answered pertly enough, but when God appeared he said, "Once have I spoken; but I will not answer: yea, twice; but I will proceed no further." That old doughty Plymouth warrior, Standish, made no verbal answer to the Indian's significant symbol of bow and arrows. But he stuffed a rattlesnake's skin full to the jaws with powder and ball and jerked it at the messenger, who sneaked out into the dark with a well-understood answer. It meant trailing the

Indian, under the grass, deadly bite, sudden, unexpected, quick as lightning, terrifying as thunder, death, and extermination.

So the most significant act in the universe was done in silence: "He is brought as a lamb to the slaughter, and as a sheep before her shearers is dumb, so he openeth not his mouth." Little Pilate could understand speech, but could not comprehend silence. That tenderest memorial in the compass of human thought is not a material monument, it is not a speech to be read or a poem to be recited, but a silent memorial possible to be celebrated anywhere that men have a crumb of bread or a drop of drink. It commemorates a love that could not be expressed in words, in breath that dies, but is only expressible by a life that serves and a death that saves. In the final full expression of the outcome of the universe as recorded in the Apocalypse, of the toils of men and the works and groanings of the Holy Ghost which cannot be worded, note the almost entire lack of words except for the enlightenment of John, not yet out of the flesh, and observe the mode of expression is symbol, panorama, postures, splendors. The fact that there is such a word as *unspeakable* testifies to the poverty of language. There are dreams in whose magnificence we are perfectly at home, but words fail us to clothe and declare their splendors. Men's words are for men's thoughts, and of course the thoughts and feelings of God, whole heavens higher, are inexpressible in men's words. Hence such expressions as unspeakable gift, unspeakable words, joy unspeakable and full of glory, and unsearchable riches, abound in the intense conceptions of the Scriptures.

Since words are inefficient and uncertain, and by them the half of the soul's best visions and feelings can never be told, what means of expression have we? Symbols, gesture, posture, facial expression, hair on end like a "fretful porcupine," the repelling palm, the beckoning finger, the devotional attitude, the putting forth of the finger scornfully, pallor, when from the coward lips the color flies, glowing

cheek and eyes, etc., etc., are all significant and comprehensible. The lover does not wait for the delayed vocable "Yes." The discovered burglar does not wait for a feeble "Get out" when the pointed finger or pistol is more significant. In the great famine in Ireland an almsgiver said to a man who was reaching out his palm, "If you wish any food why do you not ask for it?" "Am I not asking for it with my fluttering rags, my hardly covered bones, my pinched face, my hollow eyes, and every fiber of my dying body?" In poverty of words men have everywhere adopted more expressive symbols. Among the savages we find the significant lazy pipe of peace and the buried hatchet. Historic events are wonderfully set forth by the passover, Aaron's budded rod, the pot of manna, and the Lord's Supper. All art is full of symbols; there is no room for words, so we have the ark, palm branch, Jonah, dove, anchor, the three in the furnace, brazen serpent, fish, scallop shell, wreath, crown, skull, crossbones, wings, aureole, scepter, triangles, Alpha and Omega, scythe; emblematic colors—white, red, blue, scarlet, purple, green; flowers —roses, the amaranthine crown (1 Pet. v, 4); the flag, the cross—these and a hundred more appear in various forms of art in all ages and lands. He who knows not their meaning walks among the priceless treasures of art as a blind man amid the glories of spring or a deaf man when the "Hallelujah Chorus" is being rendered.

The expressiveness of posture is the whole basis of sculpture. Helen Keller, the blind girl, obtained permission to touch some statuary in the Italian Department of the Columbian Exposition. Running her hand down the back of a small statue, she said, "Ah, that signifies grief, melancholy." It was true. Expression by sculpture deals with form only, lacking color, while painting deals with color only, lacking form. The advantage of posturing by living beings is that it has not only both color and form, but most rapid and delicate movement. Uttered words are but a small part of eloquence. Let them be uttered by a phonograph or even a megaphone, and they are powerless. A deaf man in a crowd was cheer-

ing the speaker vociferously. Said one, "Can you hear?" "No; but doesn't he do the motions splendidly?" The old Greeks used to have one to read and another to express the meaning by gestures and postures. A girl is now intoxicating Paris in slight but becoming robes by giving Greek postures to words recited by another. The poetry of motion has exemplification in cloud shadows, on waving grain, a sailing boat or bird, a strenuous horse in a race, but it nowhere has such exemplification as in a human form portraying thought and emotion. Surely anyone who has seen "Nearer, my God, to thee" recited by dumb people has gotten a more vivid idea of its meaning than words ever gave him. No one who has felt the meaning of the Laocoön, Moses, Apollo Belvidere, Venus de Milo, the Winged Victory of Samothrace, Perseus, Ariadne, Mercury on Boreas, the frieze of the Parthenon, or Thorwaldsen's Christ would attempt a description of them in words. Architecture is a larger sculpture. The Cathedral of Milan is a proper marble mountain for the display of six thousand statues. The human heroes, saints, martyrs, the ascending and descending angels, the merciful Mary and the divine Christ change the mountain of marble to a mountain of thought more sublime than the visible Monte Rosa, "hung in air," as Tennyson says. General Grant said the tomb of Eyeashu in Japan is the most appropriate mortuary memorial on earth. It is a distinct mountain, cut into roads and adorned with temples and statues. So the Greeks crowned the Acropolis with the Parthenon and the statue of Minerva for incentives to worship. They took a mountain for base and put on thoughts to fit it. Sometime the whole world shall be so taken, and be covered with the knowledge of God as the waters of this vast Pacific, whose crested billows break into pearly spray in my sight and roll the diapason of nature's praise to God as I write, cover the sea. Cathedrals are "frozen music," action arrested to make its meaning permanent, thought embodied in Cupid or Jove; creation repeated, but not alive and progressive as God's is. A word is easily spoken and dies in

the mobile air; a cathedral is thought and emotion wrought out for expression for centuries and durable for millenniums.

Painting is a kindred mode of wordless expression. It embalms a transient emotion, fixes a second's rapture, perpetuates an heroic act, brings the sublimities of past ages into a present moment. One cannot describe in words the difference in pose of a new recruit and of a six-weeks-drilled soldier, or the difference between the pose of Elymas just blinded, seeking some one to lead him, and one born blind; but it can be painted. Gesture and posture have a thousand significances. Leonardo da Vinci recommends (chapter xv) that painters study the gestures of mutes, because, not being hampered or helped out by words, they will express themselves more accurately by motions. Thus bodies become expressions of soul states. They express soul states even in defiance of the soul itself. Pallor and ruddy blushing are not dependent on the will; gestures and movements are too instantaneous to be dictated by the will, but they indicate the real state of mind. These the true painter catches instinctively. Guido wished to paint a realistic picture of the Crucifixion; so he fastened a slave to a cross. It was all right so far as strained muscles and contorted postures were concerned, but, like Parrhasius, he wished to paint a dying face. He seized a knife and plunged it into the model's heart and painted the darkening shadows as they fell when the soul went out. I made a pilgrimage to see that picture in Bologna. The painter was instinctively more realistic than he desired. Instead of a divine face, full of the unspeakable love that could say of his murderers, "Father, forgive them," it was the face of a scared slave made worse by a horrid sense of murder in the painter.

Who that has seen any of the world's great paintings, Rubens's Descent from the Cross, Raphael's Transfiguration or Sistine Madonna, Murillo's Assumption, Da Vinci's Mona Lisa, or a hundred others, would attempt a description in words? Painting must be a lofty art of expression, or it would not be so cultivated and its products so preserved in

all ages. Think of the numberless museums with thousands of acres of canvas, even scraps rescued from the artists' waste heaps, treasured as Ceres treasured the flower Proserpina dropped in her rapture. Think of the price paid for the little Angelus, one hundred and sixty thousand dollars, a price that would buy a whole city library, and see the value of painting as a means of expression. A writer is tied up to so many words, of exact shape, length, and rigidity, printed, a million in a minute, by a machine. The painter has all shapes, shades, and symbols at his command, and puts his own individual idiosyncrasies into his work till you can tell the picture of a painter you really know as far as you can see it. A barometer is sensitive to air pressure, a sensitized plate to stars the telescope cannot otherwise reveal, a jealous mind to trifles light as air; but painting is sensitive to and expressive of the influence of the age in which it is made. Take, for example, the Christ face in art. It is perfectly clear that art has followed the thought and feeling of each varying age in its representations of the face of the Christ. In the hard conditions of the early persecuted Christians it showed the face of the Crucified One. The nails, spear, crown of thorns, and the cross were the accessories. He that endured the shame, spitting, smiting in the face, and death must be their exemplar. Driven into the catacombs for worship, and not knowing but that their coming out meant death, they set before their eyes Him who endured such contradiction of sinners for their sake. When persecution had passed, and Christian feeling dominated the realm of art, the brush of a Raphael or a Correggio set forth the divine beauty of his holiness. And this age of iron and strength shows a stronger face than any of its predecessors. In Holman Hunt's picture of the youthful Christ among the doctors his face is stronger than those of the aged doctors that are evidently yielding to him; what will it be in his manhood, with Pharisees and money changers withering and fleeing before it? This age can appreciate the majesty of the form that stills the storm and awes the mob at Nazareth or the soldiers

in Gethsemane; the next age will show the infinite tenderness of the Christ at work, with the cured sick, the forgiven Magdalenes, and the healing touch for accessories. All these characteristics go into a bit of canvas according to the perception and feeling of a thousand different artists.

It is the province of art to represent things not merely as they are, but as they should be. The idealized head of Napoleon or Josephine is very different from the reality. A landscape of Claude Lorrain is not a landscape of France, but of the mind. The painter is supposed to draw in his figures with charcoal, but by the inspiration of his genius it becomes a radiant diamond. Yet such is the perversity of material that when the sculptor tries to represent in stone the surprised joy of Eve at first finding herself alive he feels that the result from his hand is more like Caliban than like divine perfection from the hand of God. Expression even by art cannot reach what man can think and feel.

But there is music. Words scarcely avail to talk about it. It is like translating the soft Italian lispings of a mother's cooings to her babe into the cacophony of an angry Russian peasant. The highest music has no words. They would hamper it. When John heard at length the voice of the Beloved in heaven it was as the sound of these many waters that roar at my feet. It was too much for mortal man to bear. He fell at his feet as dead. Then old familiar words were uttered, infinity let down into finiteness, and he revived. I have just spoken to nine thousand people in San Francisco. They endured it. Then came four ladies playing harmonized cornets; there were no words, but the people went wild. They encored and encored; they could not get enough. What an impertinence it would be to thrust words into the "Seventh Symphony"! I have heard fifteen hundred voices rendering Gounod's "Redemption," "The heavens are telling the glory of God," the "Hallelujah Chorus," etc., but vocalization added nothing. The voices were an adjunct to organ and cymbals and harpers harping with their harps. It was a precious imagination of Pythag-

oras that nature was set to music. It was a more precious utterance of reality by God to Job that the morning stars sang together; a revelation that mathematical science has since confirmed. Angels, sun, moon, stars of light, heaven of heavens, waters above them, fire, hail, snow and vapors, stormy wind, mountains and hills, beasts and all cattle, creeping things and birds of wing, young men and maidens, are all one great chorus and orchestra to praise the Lord.

> The harp at nature's advent strung
> Has never ceased to play;
> The song the stars of morning sung
> Has never died away.

Blessed is he who has ears to hear.

Nature is expressive. Into the metaphysical question whether there can be thought without organs and means of embodied expression we do not enter; there is embodied expression. Words are its faint and far reverberation, an echo indistinct. What does it express? How can we tell it? How represent with pitch pipe a mighty organ inspired by a Mozart? Nevertheless, to the pipings:

Nature expresses power. Our standards of horse power are not alphabets, are only units to infinities. Mind has no measures for this might. Lift your eyes from a train a quarter of a mile long launched like a huge javelin, the head glowing like a meteor cleaving the air, from moving bridges on the Atlantic that, spite of storm, arrive with the punctuality of planets, to the circling worlds and suns. For that power we have no unit of measurement. Come to smaller matters on the lesser worlds. There are perpetual mights smiting every rod of old ocean's shores; in the wide and deep miles of air; in every Niagara and Shoshone falls; in all the millions of tons of water brought back from the sea over the mountains to keep the Mississippis and Amazons ever flowing; in the uplifting of grass and sequoias; in electricity and the swift-journeying light. There is no human measurement for any one of them. None of these forces is suffi-

cient in itself for origin or continuance. There is evolution. There must have been equal involution. Whence? The deepest of all philosophers tells us that the things that are made so clearly evidence God's eternal power that even the heathen are without excuse if they do not see it. But they do, everywhere, and they fear it.

Nature expresses wisdom. In our thousands of years we have only traced the most evident outcroppings. Its finer phases baffle us, and things we think we know have depths our mental plummets have never sounded. Always in advance of human perceptions, the Bible writers recognize that the things of nature evince wisdom. After a hasty glance at the beginnings of nature—the making of light as a garment, laying the foundations of the earth, ridging its mountains, depressing areas for seas, creating and sustaining all manner of life—amazed at the manifoldness of the works, the psalmist exclaims, "In wisdom hast thou made them all." Rich are the discoveries of it, richer in our brief day than in all previous days, but richer far to come. "O, the depth of the riches both of the wisdom and knowledge of God."

Nature expresses advance, development. By constant, persistent, unresting advance it has gone on from chaos to cosmos, from coarse to fine, from low life to highest, and gathers through all eons new forces for yet greater advance to life yet higher. The order is rock, sand, soil, vegetable life, from *cryptogamous* or flowerless mosses to roses and sequoias; animal life from amœba to fish, bird, man, and spirit immortal. There is no exhaustion, but possibilities and commensurate powers open new realms with every new advance. Nature, as well as Scripture, is prophecy of perfect men in a perfect state.

Nature expresses beauty. This house is full of roses; plants that elsewhere nestle lowly here offer themselves to the level of the eye and sense of smell. Were these flowers themselves the original source of their loveliness, fit symbol of the love of human hearts? On the shore I pick up shells,

convoluted, crimped, beautified and glorified with color far beneath the sea. For whose delight is all this beauty? Is it for mollusks and gastropods that live in the dark, have no eyes, could not see inside themselves if they had? No; this beauty is to express the beauty of the Maker, who doeth all things well. The sun of this morning came across vast shining leagues of sea, a rainbow set its signet arc of a ring of covenant this afternoon, and now the moon is making a gleaming pathway fit for angels to journey hitherward upon. Was this beauty of sun, rainbow, and moon for and of themselves? No; it was that the beauty of the Lord our God might be upon us and so lead us up all other steps of beauty to that one perfect beauty of holiness that we may be able to see the King in his beauty.

Nature expresses joy. The deep, true seers have said, Let the isles be glad; let the wilderness and the solitary place be glad for a certain kind of men; let the heavens be glad and the earth rejoice. Above these dead and inanimate things rises a gladness of animate things that we are able to perceive. Who can see a tree rise into majesty, a flower break into blooming beauty, an unripe fruit into lusciousness, without feeling that each one enjoys the doing of this marvelous thing? It is said that one condition for raising flowers exuberantly is to give them love to feed upon. Life is one long play, to the tribes of fish, fowl, and beast. One of the greatest practical jokers I ever knew was a horse. I have seen birds lie for hours without flit of a feather, on an upturned current of air, enjoying the outspread beauty of the world below. A French observer insists that the dance of insects in the evening air has a regular figure, and is their expression of the joy of being.

We are girded with power, inspired with wisdom to use it, bosomed in beauty, thrilled with joy, and domed over with sublimities, but we can receive only what we are sensitive to. The impulses of wireless telegraphy go unnoticed through a thousand things to be recorded only by one. Men are many; few are the prophets. Æschylus heard and voiced the mul-

titudinous laughter of old ocean's billows. That laughter sounds most multitudinous when a long swell has just been dimpled by a ten-knot breeze into chopping waves that musically break against the bows of a sailboat whose tiller you hold. To some people the sea only moans. Alas for the people! It does not moan to God. When his greatest praise is attempted the floods lift up their voice, the floods lift up their waves. The righteousness he would give is as great and with as successive bestowment as the waves of the sea. And when all the saved finally break out in praise the only fit symbol of it is "the voice of many waters." Job heard that the morning stars sang together. Christ heard the infinite sweetness of the divine voice while dullard souls only thought it thundered. Christ was sympathetically at home with nature in a storm, in the wilderness, on the mountains. By him were all things of nature made, and he must have had a heart of sympathy with every mood he made or shall hereafter prepare; and nature sympathetically sent its light to irradiate his garments when his soul was transfigured and translated, and its darkness and earthquake shudders when his soul was sore troubled "even unto death."

It is singular how the poets of to-day get from nature the most rapturous strains their harps can raise. To Browning the unseen is alive and aware:

> The stars of night beat with emotion and tingled and shot
> Out in strange fire;

to Mrs. Browning

> Every common bush is all aflame with God;

to Wordsworth

> The meanest flower that grows can give
> Thoughts that do often lie too deep for tears;

to Tennyson the daisy is a reminder of love's pilgrimage, and the tide flows him into this world's harbor for a lifetime and bears him out with no moaning at the bar. Two of the distinctest additions to human thought are Blanco White's sonnet to "Mysterious Night" and Bryant's poem "To a

Waterfowl." The keynote of Bryant's poetry is "Thanatopsis," "The Forest Hymn," "Gladness of Nature," etc. A day in the woods with Bryant is the soul's translation for the time. Lowell was a real lover of trees. He used to go out and shake hands with them on returning from long tours, to their mutual delight. Witness his perception of the meaning of nature, especially in trees, in his poems to the Pine, the Oak, the Birch, Pictures from Appledore, and that most touching threnody, "The Wind Harp." Whittier was nature's child and understood the songs she sang to him. Longfellow begins his poems with, "I heard the trailing garments of the night sweep through her marble halls." Emerson said, "I never count the hours I spend in wandering by the sea. Like God, it useth me." Antæus strengthened by his mother Earth is more than fable. Homer makes hardly any allusions to nature in his poems; all the ancients are like him; but to our modern poets nature is the greatest poem, made by the greatest Poet, and he says to us (1 Cor. iii, 9), "Ye are God's tilled field." How exquisite the flowers, how nutritious the fruits, where he plants and tills the trees of life; and in Eph. iv, 14, he says to us, "Ye are God's poems." What rhythmic music of movement like the stars, what rhymes like distant echoes, what exuberance of fancy, what sweeps of imagination, what perfect accompaniment of meanings to the music of the spheres when God writes his poems in the feelings and expressions of souls. How exquisite and expressive some of them are.

Since God has written part of his name and nature on all that he hath made it is worth while to learn to read his manner of expression, since thereby we learn to feel and live. Words may be flat, stale, and unprofitable, but all the expressions of God are ever alive and new, and will bear telescopic or microscopic study.

Henry W. Warren

Art. II.—BEGINNINGS OF HEBREW MONOTHEISM—THE INEFFABLE NAME.*

It is hard to realize the fact that not one of the Old Testament prophets or New Testament evangelists ever heard the word Jehovah, or if they could have heard it would have had the slightest idea of the speaker's meaning. In their day, and long centuries after their day, this now sacred name had no existence.

The distinctive personal name of the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob was written in their own language in two ways. The shorter form was expressed by the two consonants answering to our JH, the longer by the four consonants answering to our JHVH. It is considered certain that the former was originally pronounced Yah, and highly probable that the pronunciation of the latter was Yahveh. That the former is the older of the two forms is the opinion of some of the best authorities in Semitic archæology. The two appear together in Isa. xii, 2, and xxvi, 4.† The origin of this hallowed name has been a puzzle to the scholars of

*A scholarly essay entitled "The Origin and Interpretation of the Tetragrammaton," written by Dr. Hans H. Spoer, and published in volume xviii, No. 1, of *The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, pp. 10-35, has appeared since the present paper was completed and sent to the printer. It agrees with the views here taken in claiming (1) That the derivation of Yahveh-worship from the Kenites is not proven, or even rendered credible, by the advocates of that view; (2) That the evidence at present available is decidedly against the supposition that the name and cult were borrowed from any foreign people; (3) That the attempt of Margoliouth and others to show the identity of Ea and Sin is unsuccessful; and (4) That although the sacred name may have antedated Moses, as document J "seems to assume," the national acknowledgment of Yahveh as the Holy One of Israel historically dates from Moses and is a mark of his powerful impress upon the nation at its very birth. Spoer's own view of the ineffable name as originating in a popular battle cry is, so far as the present writer knows, entirely original, but the evidence of its correctness as an historic fact is not such as to promise wide acceptance.

† How the JHVH received from ignorant mediæval scribes the vowels which caused it to be pronounced Jehovah is well known to all readers of theology. The account in Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, article "Jehovah," is perhaps as good as any generally accessible. For later phases of the discussion as to derivation see Driver, "The Tetragrammaton," in *Studia Biblica*, Oxford, 1885; also Hastings's *Dictionary of the Bible*, article "God;" Thomas Tyler, "Origin of the Tetragrammaton," in *The Jewish Quarterly Review*, London, July, 1901.

many generations. In his *History of the People of Israel* Renan remarks, "Of all the obscure questions in these ancient histories this assuredly is the most perplexing." Derivations have been attempted from roots of almost every kind: Hebrew, Canaanite, Phœnician, Egyptian, Greek, and even Chinese. One of the latest is that presented by Spiegelberg,* who seeks to derive it from an Egyptian word signifying "(fourfooted) animals." Surely little further light on this problem can be looked for from philology!

More than a year before this paper was begun it occurred to the writer that possibly JAH was the Hebrew form or equivalent of the name applied by the ancient Sumerians and East Semites to a god to whom they ascribed the lordship of all waters, the lordship of the earth as well, the creation and care of the human race, wisdom beyond that of all the other gods, and, finally, a character that called out all the hostility of the demons. The very thought was exciting. The name of this most ancient Chaldean divinity is variously translitcrated by scholars as IA, EA, and HEA. Most German Assyriologists use the first form, most English ones either the second or third. As Hommel and others had shown that in the composition of personal names IA was one of the most archaic forms of Yahveh the phonetic equivalence of the two names seemed exact. But, if our Hebrew JAH was in historic reality only the West Semitic form of East Semitic or Proto-Semitic EA, what interesting inferences must necessarily follow! What new questions would have to be investigated touching the religious ideas of the ancient Chaldeans, and touching the method of Old Testament revelation! Even upon the old questions—questions of history, of ethnology, of linguistic development, of biblical criticism, of Old Testament exegesis—flashes of new light might surely be expected to fall. Though at the time far from the needed books, and a part of the time upon a railway journey, the crowding thoughts suggested by the possible identification rendered sleep almost impossible.

*In the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, I. III. 633.

In the light of the new idea passage after passage in the Old Testament took on a new interest and a new significance. At length the finger posts pointing in the new direction became so numerous and so striking that the solitary traveler could not believe he was the first of moderns to pursue the novel highway. He accordingly wrote to two of the most eminent Assyriologists of America, inquiring whether, to their knowledge, anyone had ever proposed the identification above described. The first had never heard of such a proposal. The second thought he had once seen such an hypothesis, but later, after a protracted search, reported that he could give no clew to the hypothesis-maker, if such there really had been. Weeks later, from a brief footnote in Sayce's Hibbert Lectures of 1881, the present writer discovered that the equation so interesting to himself had occurred to Halévy, but had not received the approval of Sayce. About the same time it came to light that in the October number of the *Contemporary Review* for the year 1898, in a paper entitled "Religion of the Ancient Hebrews," Rev. G. Margoliouth, A.M., of the British Museum, formerly Tyrwhitt Hebrew scholar in Cambridge University, had definitely proposed and defended the thesis: "Ea and Ya [Yah] form an undoubted equation." To Mr. Margoliouth, therefore, appears to belong the credit, if credit it shall prove, of first publicly advocating this new conception of the origin of the Ineffable Name.*

The article just referred to having confined itself to considerations drawn chiefly, if not exclusively, from cuneiform

*Margoliouth in closing his article sums up his view of the course of theological thought as follows: "There was first a primeval form of faith, consisting in the worship of the supreme god Ea, at the very cradle of civilization—namely, Eridu, lying close to the spot where the Euphrates originally joined the Persian Gulf. It was partly through divine emanations, or procreation, and partly by means of turning the different names of the same god into designations of separate deities, that a far-branched polytheistic system soon developed itself out of the original faith of Eridu. One family of the human race, however, remained faithful to Ea, worshiping the god under the name of Nannar at Uru, and under that of Sin at Haran. But there were—apart from frequent lapses into polytheism—two classes of worshipers among the faithful adherents of the god. The higher conception was a strictly monotheistic one, holding to the belief that Ea or Ya, and later Yahweh,

literature, and having furthermore, in the opinion of the present writer, weakened the argument by an attempted identification of Ea with the Babylonian moon-god, Sin, it is the purpose of the present paper to supplement Margoliouth's by offering a few entirely original suggestions based upon a study of the main question on its biblical side. A beginning may be made by calling attention to the following points:

1. Long before the days of Abraham, Yah, or Yahveh, was designated as "the God of Shem" (Gen. ix, 26). According to the biblical narrative, therefore, the divinity with whom in their historic period the children of Israel stood in peculiar and exclusive covenant relations was originally a divinity recognized and worshiped by the whole Semitic family.

2. Consider next the call of Moses. Ea's special symbol among the East Semites was a serpent. (Sayce, Hibbert Lectures, p. 134.) If Moses was sent to bear a divine message to a people who were worshipers of Ea it was important that he should be accredited to them by signs that they would recognize as appropriate to Ea. Accordingly, the first sign given to Moses and then by him to his people was that of the rod changed into Ea's familiar symbol—a serpent."*

3. Ea was the East Semitic, and apparently earliest Semitic, god particularly connected with diseases and their cure.

was the only god, there being none other besides him. This conception also became in the course of time more and more idealized, and was continually gaining in ethical depth and purity. The less exalted form of faith was henotheistic. Yahweh was in this view not, indeed, the only god in existence, but he was the only god for the Hebrews to worship. For a long time henotheism and monotheism existed not only by the side of each other, but also in close proximity to a more or less rampant and gross form of polytheism. The purer and greater faith, however, gradually gained the upper hand; and it is this higher and nobler doctrine that has been transmitted through the people of the Hebrews to the most civilized and most powerful races of the modern world." In a pamphlet of twenty pages the same author presented the following year additional arguments. (See his *Hebrew-Babylonian Affinities*. London, 1899.)

*On this symbol "the father of English Assyriologists" has the following note: "For the present we may believe that *Kimmut* was the constellation Draco and that the god Hea is figured by the great serpent which occupies so conspicuous a place among the symbols of the gods on the black stones recording Babylonian benefactions." (H. C. Rawlinson, in Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, I, p. 488.)

He was called the "Great Physician." Hence, if the West Semites still remembered their patriarchally honored "god of Shem" in this character, one of the best possible signs of his presence with Moses would have been the sign of power to cure the most obstinate of all diseases, namely, leprosy. [This, then, was the second sign.*]

4. Ea, in East Semitic thought, was the god of all waters; hence the point of the third sign, the power to transmute water into blood. The three, according to the record, were the only signs given to Moses at the time of his commission. (Read connectedly Exod. iv, 1-9.)

5. If Ea was originally the Poseidon or Neptune of the whole Semitic family it is hard to see how the divine purpose to enter into an exceptional covenant relation with the Hebrews, an Ea-worshiping section of the Semites, could in any other manner have had the way to its realization so effectively prepared as it naturally would be by a stupendous water-miracle of deliverance like that at the crossing of the Red Sea. The immortal antiphonal pæan of Moses and Miriam becomes more impressive than ever when re-read in the light of this thought, with the substitution of Ea's name for that of Yah. (Exod. xv.)

6. In like manner, on the same supposition, no other mode of entering the promised land could have so encouraged the Ea-worshiping Hebrews or so dismayed the Canaanites, who still retained their knowledge of the power of Ea, as that second great water-miracle, the passage of the Jordan dry-shod. The narrator himself speaks of the latter of these effects. (See Josh. v, 1.)

7. The unlevitical libation of water to Yahveh recorded in 1 Sam. vii, 6, has for many generations been a hopeless puzzle to all commentators, Jewish as well as Christian; it is,

*In the light of this symbolism, older and wider than any originated among the Hebrews, the story of the brazen serpent uplifted in the wilderness for the healing of the bitten and dying Israelites takes on a new significance. There seems to be some evidence that under the symbol of a brazen serpent Ea was worshiped by the Semitic population of Pithom in Egypt. (See "Religion of the Ancient Egyptians," by J. N. Hoare, in *Littell's Living Age*, January 4, 1879, p. 34.)

however, immediately explained if understood as simply a resort to the ancestral custom of pouring out water as a libation to Ea, the god of all waters.*

8. The two signs asked by Gideon for the confirming of his faith (Judg. vi, 36-40) were such as no polytheist would have asked of a god of fire or tempest, such as many German scholars have supposed Yahveh to have been; on the other hand, they were just such as any Semite might most naturally have asked from the ancestrally worshiped god of all waters.†

9. The deliverance of Jehoram from the king of Moab by means of a miraculous flood of water from the desert, as told in 2 Kings iii, 9-27, seems to have been another interposition of God wonderfully adapted to develop the faith and devotion of a nation of earlier Ea-worshipers. Even an adverse flood in the days of Sennacherib, nearly two centuries later, called out from his generals golden offerings to Ea. (See McCurdy, *History, Prophecy, and the Monuments,* vol. ii, p. 326.)

10. In the light of Margoliouth's theory new significance at once attaches to the miraculous production of water from the smitten rock; the healing of the waters of Marah and again at Jericho; the rain-sign given in ratification of the solemn words of the prophet and of his gift of a king (1 Sam. xii, 18); the delivering flood of Kishon (Judg. v, 21); the twelve barrels of water poured over the altar and offering at the great prayer-test on Carmel (1 Kings xviii, 33); the parting of the Jordan for Elijah to pass over, and again its parting for Elisha. It is also curious to notice that in Genesis the very first function ascribed to Yahveh in his relation to the created world is that of producing rain (Gen. ii, 5). In like manner in one of the last passages in the last book of the Old Testament he is still represented as

*Compare Sayce, Hibbert Lectures, p. 476: "The pure pourer of libations to Ea . . . am I," and other expressions in the magical texts. To this day in strict Jewish families it is said to be a custom to pour out water whenever a death occurs in the house. May not this be a survival illustrating 1 Sam. vii, 6, and a far remoter past? No other explanation is known.

†"Lord of the Waters!" is the striking title under which, according to Mohammedan tradition, the eighteen-year-old Moses addressed his God in Egypt before the Exodus. (Weil, *Biblical Legends,* p. 129.)

keeper of the windows of heaven and the pourer down of blessings (Mal. iii, 10). In that most powerful expostulation addressed by Yahveh to his people, in Leviticus the 26th chapter, the first of all the blessings promised in case of obedience to his commandments is "rains in their seasons." So elsewhere and often. (Compare Deut. xi, 14.) Manna, too, was given only in connection with "the dew," and the miraculously supplied quails were brought "from the sea." In fact, Yahveh's preliminary promise is: "Behold, I will *'rain'* bread from heaven for you" (Exod. xvi, 4). The same expression occurs again in Psa. lxxviii, 24. The opening declaration and daring prophecy of Elijah is that only according to his word, as representative of Yahveh, shall there be either "rain" or "dew" in all the land. The later prophets abound in expressions which seem survivals from the worship of a lord of the world of waters. The very first demand that Isaiah addresses to sinful countrymen is, "Wash you, make you clean." He takes up a strophe from the exultant song of Moses on the shore of the Red Sea, prefixing and appending significant expressions: "I will trust and not be afraid: for YAH YAHVEH is my strength and song; and he is become my salvation. Therefore with joy shall ye draw water out of the wells of salvation" (xii, 2). He opens a series of indignant questions with this: "Who hath measured the waters in the hollow of his hand?" (xl, 12.) He makes the Holy One of Israel say: "The poor and needy seek water and there is none, and their tongue faileth for thirst; I Yahveh will answer them, I the God of Israel will not forsake them. I will open rivers on the bare heights, and fountains in the valley: I will make the wilderness a pool of water, and the dry land springs of water" (xli, 17, 18). Again: "I am Yahveh . . . that saith to the deep, Be dry, and I will dry up thy rivers" (xliv, 27). Anon the promise comes, "So shall he sprinkle many nations" (lii, 15). Anon also the invitation, "Ho, every one that thirsteth, come ye to the waters." This figure of Yahveh as a fountain of waters Jeremiah repeats in his first public word of Yahveh:

"My people have committed two evils; they have forsaken me, the Fountain of Living Waters, and hewed them out cisterns, broken cisterns, that can hold no water" (ii, 13). He makes the same charge a second time in a later chapter.* His Yahveh fixed "the bound of the sea" (v, 22); "He causeth the vapors to ascend" (x, 13); he it is that "giveth rain" (v, 24); among all the vanities of the heathen there is none that "can cause rain," neither "can the heavens give showers;" Yahveh alone hath done it (xiv, 22). Even when Yahveh visits the rebellious with his anger and fury he "pours" it out as if it were a fluid (xliv, 6). The form of the expression reminds the thoughtful reader of the striking one in Gen. xix, where Yahveh *"rained"* upon Sodom and Gomorrah the fire and brimstone in which they were consumed. But blessings, as well as judgments, are represented as "poured" out, and in Joel's prophecy of Pentecost the outpouring of Yahveh's Spirit itself is promised. Amos cries aloud: "Seek ye Yahveh, that calleth for the waters of the sea and poureth them out upon the face of the earth; Yahveh is his name" (v, 8). Again he describes the power of Yahveh of hosts as extending "to the bottom of the sea," as making the solid land swell and fall away like the annual flood-rhythm of the Nile, and as if unable to improve upon his former characterization he repeats the words: "He calleth for the waters of the sea and poureth them out upon the face of the earth; Yahveh is his name" (ix, 6). Habakkuk anticipates with triumphant joy the day when the whole earth shall be filled with the knowledge of the glory of Yahveh "as the waters cover the sea." In his lyrical prayer he cries: "Was Yahveh displeased against the rivers? Was

*It is very curious and significant that some of the most striking representations of Ea that have come down to us are those in which he is figured in archaic seals as a fountain giving forth in different directions large streams of living waters. They may be seen in Roscher's *Lexicon der Mythologie*, article "Oannes-Ea." For the more ordinary representation see Smith's *Chaldæan Genesis*, p. 325; Ragozin, *Chaldæa*, p. 187; Maspero, *Dawn of Civilization*, p. 653; Rawlinson, *Ancient Monarchies*, vol. i, p. 132; or Roscher, as above. The miter and sacred coat remind one of the place of ΙΧΘΥΣ in Christian art and symbolism. How delightedly would Tertullian and his *"pisciculi"* (*De Bapt.*, c. 1) have recognized in the fish-crowned and fish-clad Ea a divinely prepared antitype of the mystical Fish they served.

thine anger against the rivers, or thy wrath against the sea?" It is "with an overrunning flood" that Nahum declares that Yahveh will make a full end of his enemies and of their habitation. (See also Ezek. xxxviii, 22.) Easily might the earliest of the Semites that ever worshiped Chaldean Ea have joined their voices with those of their far-down descendants in the Hebrew psalm, saying, "He sitteth upon the flood;" or again, "Thy way is in the sea; and thy paths in the great waters."

11. But for the enumeration of all these apparent survivals presented in Old Testament literature an extended treatise would be necessary. It is time to pass to other points.

To the Semites of the East, as also to the Sumerians before them, Ea was far more than merely a Neptune; his oldest known title was En-Ki, that is, "Lord of the Earth." This strikingly corresponds with the title "Lord of the whole Earth," twice given to Yahveh by Joshua in the single address recorded in Josh. iii, 11, 13. Of En-Ki, as truly as of Yahveh, the worshiper might have said, "The sea is his and he made it, and his hands formed the dry land" (Psa. xcv, 5).

12. Finally, the worshipers of Ea held that he was the creator of mankind, the one rightful lord and merciful protector of the human race, the embodiment and source of all wisdom and good counsel, the "Father of the gods," the *Il ilani,* or "God of gods."* He is the only one of these divinities to whom in all known cuneiform literature no undivine word or deed is ever ascribed. He, more than any or all of the others, was the representative of the moral order of the world. When the most ancient writers desired to describe in a single phrase the devilishness of the seven chief demons they simply said, "Hostile to Ea are they." He represented the true creator and righteous lord of the world,

*It is almost startling to find in Josh. xxii, 22, precisely this last title ascribed twice over to Yahveh under circumstances of peculiar solemnity. The reader is asked to turn to the passage.

so far as his worshipers knew him.* It seems hardly too much to paraphrase the language of Paul on Mars' Hill and say: Whom therefore a branch of the too superstitious Semites ignorantly worshiped, him declared the divinely commissioned Moses unto them.

The points above enumerated do not by any means exhaust the biblical data available in the present discussion. It is time, however, to turn to the noticeable relief that will be brought to Old Testament exegetes if ever the view of Margoliouth shall come to find general acceptance among scholars. In the Hebrew Scriptures there are not a few indications of a recognition of Yahveh, and even of a worship of Yahveh, outside the Hebrew people. These have led sometimes to unsupported text-emendations, sometimes to distortions of history, sometimes to documentary hypotheses of a purely conjectural character. If, however, biblical scholarship shall ever reach the assured conviction that the Holy One of Israel was yet earlier, and for ages the divinest of all the divinities of the children of Shem, these hitherto difficult and puzzling indications will cease to require explanation. The importance of this relief hardly needs to be stated.

1. As is well known, persons not of Israelitish descent bore names compounded of some appropriate term with one

*Although holding that Ea was originally merely the local god of Eridu, Professor M. Jastrow, Jr., says: "Next to Marduk there is no deity who after the union of Babylonian states was given such distinction in Babylonia as Ea. In the religious literature, moreover, as reshaped by the schoolmen of his time, his rôle is even more prominent than that of Marduk. . . . *There is no god conceived in so universal a manner as Ea.* All local connection with Eridu disappears. He belongs to no particular district. . . . Such a conception impressed upon the Babylonians the common bond uniting all mankind." (*The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, p. 137.) Lenormant, years before any possible identification of Ea with the one living and true God had been thought of, wrote as follows: "We know positively that one of the immortals who was represented as 'having formed with his hand the race of men' . . . was Ea, the 'god of supreme intelligence,' the 'master of all wisdom,' the 'god of the pure life,' 'director of purity,' 'who raises the dead to life,' the 'merciful one with whom is life.' . . . One of the most usual titles of Ea is that of 'lord of the human species' (*bel tenisetî*); and more than once in the documents there is reference to a connection between this god and 'man who is his own.'" (*Beginnings of History*, p. 55.) For other descriptions see Maspero, in *Dawn of Civilization*; Pinches's paper at last Paris Congress of Orientalists; and Roscher, in his *Lexicon der Mythologie*, article "Oannes-Ea."

of the shorter forms of Yahveh's name prefixed or suffixed; as, for example, Tobiah the Ammonite, Uriah the Hittite, Araunah the Jebusite, Abdai the Tyrian, etc. Names thus compounded have recently been discovered in Babylonian contract tablets as ancient as the days of Hammurabi. These, therefore, antedate not only Moses, but even Abraham by many centuries.*

2. Not merely an "Elohist source," or a "Yahvist source," but the whole extended narrative respecting Balaam's prophecies, in Numbers, chapters xxii-xxiv, represents him as a non-Israelite and yet as a prophet of Yahveh. If, in reality, he was a noted prophet of the god Ea, and Balak considered the children of Israel as claiming to be in a peculiar sense the people of Ea, everything in the narrative is at once consistent; consistent both with the ideas appropriate to the ethnic prophet and also with those appropriate to the Hebrew writer who records the occurrence. Text-dissections like those of Freiherr Von Gall, who last year tried to show us that Num. xxii-xxiv was the slowly matured product of nine successive writers, become wholly unnecessary. Even the far simpler analyses of Wellhausen, Bacon, and others lose most of their *raison d'être.*

3. In Jonah i, 14, 16, the frightened Phœnician sailors are represented as praying and sacrificing to Yahveh; if Margoliouth's view is correct this becomes entirely credible, for from Babylonian texts we know that Ea was expressly called the patron god of sailors. †

4. On this same theory the language of Laban to the servant of Abraham, Gen. xxiv, 31, 50, 51; that of Jethro to Moses, Exod. xviii, 10, 11; that of Abimelech to Isaac, Gen. xxvi, 28, 29; that of Rahab to the spies, Josh. ii, 9-13; that of Achish to David, 1 Sam. xxix, 6; that of Hiram to

*See "Ya, Yawa, in Assyro-Babylonian Inscriptions" in *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, November, 1892; also an earlier article in same for November, 1885; also Schrader, Sayce, Hommel, and the rest.

†"Dat hij god van den Ocean en van alle wateren is, en daarom ook de god der schippers, staat vast." *De Beteekenis van Ea en zijn Verhouding tot Maruduk en Nabu.* Van C. P. Tiele. Amst., 1887, p. 8. Also Roscher, "Oannes Ea," sp. 589, 590.

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Solomon, 1 Kings v, 7; that of the queen of Sheba to Solomon, 1 Kings x, 9; that of Rabshakeh to Hezekiah in 2 Kings xviii, 25, ceases at once to be unnatural, and hence ceases to call for conjectural text-emendations or for forced interpretations.

5. Finally, on this theory relief is at once experienced in interpreting all those passages in which Yahveh is represented expostulating with the surrounding nations and kingdoms as if he were known to them and known to have a rightful claim to their allegiance, or where, as in Isa. xix, 22, he foretells their "return" unto him, and promises to "turn their captivity" and to make them severally his own people.

At this point it would be interesting to inquire into the possible effects of Margoliouth's theory upon biblical criticism in case it should prevail in the field of exegesis. Manifestly some new canons for the determination of the relative age of books and of their documentary sources might come to recognition and to universal use. Manifestly some of the literary analyses of recent years would have to be revised. That inquiry is commended to the eager young scholars of the opening decade of the twentieth century. Meantime the present writer renewedly expresses the conviction he has elsewhere ventured to act upon,* to wit, that a serious study of the religion and world-view of the Semitic peoples in Mosaic and pre-Mosaic times is to-day more likely to contribute to a just understanding of the beginnings of Hebrew monotheism than any study of writings composed at so late a period as those of Amos and his successors.

*See "The Origin of the Pentateuch" in *The Biblical World*, Sept., 1901. *Paradise Found*, pp. 362 ff. "Babylonian and Pre-Babylonian Cosmology" in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. xxii, 1901. Also reprinted in *Biblia*, issue of December, 1901.

William F. Warren.

Art. III.—ST. PAUL AS A RHETORICIAN.

We are accustomed to think of St. Paul as a preacher, apostle, teacher, or theologian, but it is unusual, to say the least, to think of him in the way suggested by our subject. In fact, the word rhetorician is associated in the popular mind with that worldly wisdom which St. Paul expressly repudiates: for "Jews ask for signs, and Greeks seek after wisdom; but we preach Christ crucified, unto Jews a stumbling-block, and unto Gentiles foolishness."* It is indeed said of Longinus that in making an enumeration of the great orators known to history he closed the list with Paul of Tarsus, but this is a claim which Paul himself would hardly have made. In writing to the Corinthians he seems to admit that, in the opinion of certain persons at least, "His bodily presence is weak, and his speech of no account;"† while he expressly declares that he will not know anything among them "save Jesus Christ, and him crucified."‡ Moreover, the writings of Paul are not in the classic Greek of Plato, but in the Hellenistic dialect of the Jews of the Dispersion. He was indeed born in Tarsus, a Greek city, but he was early taken to Jerusalem, where he was brought up at the feet of Gamaliel, so that his culture was in a preponderating degree Jewish. He does in one or two instances seem to quote from some of the Greek poets,§ but the quotations are probably such as had become current among the people, and do not necessarily imply an acquaintance with the writings of those poets. One might to-day use in common speech the phrase, "To make a virtue of necessity," without thereby proving a knowledge of Chaucer, and not every one who has occasion to say that "The better part of valor is discretion" is thereby marked as a student of Shakespeare. Paul's mind and education are Jewish, and we do not find in the Greek of his writings those finely wrought paragraphs and smooth-flowing periods which were the delight of the Athenians.

* 1 Cor. i, 22, 23. † 2 Cor. x, 10. ‡ 1 Cor. ii, 2. § Acts xvii, 28.

Shall we, then, deny to Paul the term rhetorician? Our answer will depend on what we mean by that word. What is rhetoric? Socrates in his conversation with Gorgias holds the idea that rhetoric is to language what the pastry art is to cooking; that as pies and cakes and sweetmeats merely please the palate and stimulate the appetite, so the employment of rhetoric is simply to delight one's fancies without conferring any substantial benefit.* Indeed, the rhetoricians in his day, the sophists, endeavored to make language the medium of fallacy and deception and to fill their compositions with paragraphs of sound without sense. They boasted that the orator could persuade the multitude to whatever course he might wish; that, for instance, on a question of health an orator might influence the multitude more than a physician could.† No wonder that Socrates, with his love for truth and his detestation of "making the worse appear the better part," should oppose such an art as that, and even deny that it is an art at all. But this is not the true idea of rhetoric. Rather it is the art by which language is made the medium of portraying the soul of a writer and of moving the soul of a reader. The test of a man's rhetorical power is not the fineness and polish of his language; it is not his ability to pile up epithets or manipulate pleasing figures of speech, but whether his language correctly portrays his own soul and is suited to accomplish his purpose in the minds of those addressed. Language is one of the means by which soul touches soul. Rhetoric is the art by which this means is perfected. The objection to rhetoric in the hands of a sophist is that he perverts it; he uses it to conceal his real self and to substitute before his readers or hearers a false self. Only in the hands of a lover of truth, who desires the real thoughts of his soul to be reproduced in others, has rhetoric a proper place. To be a rhetorician, then, in the best sense of the word, a prerequisite is that one should be a true man.

Was St. Paul, then, a rhetorician? In a professional

* Plato, *Gorgias*, 462 B–465 E. † *Ibid.*, 456 B-C.

sense, no; he was not a teacher of rhetoric. If he cultivated the art it was not as an end, but as a means. In the sophistic sense, no; but in a truly practical sense, yes. We do not find him artistically manipulating language to pander to the æsthetic taste, but we do find in his writings a wonderful power to reveal himself, and it is a true self which is there revealed. We find, moreover, a striking adaptation of his language to accomplish his purpose in the hearts of others. In studying the rhetoric of St. Paul the most casual reader will be impressed that the thoughts there uttered are the thoughts of a great soul. According to our definition, rhetorical power may be resolved into three elements: what a man is, what he says, and how he says it. The first element is the personality of the man himself. Paul as seen in his writings has daily fellowship with great thoughts; a soul which cannot endure trifling, which has no room for the vanities of this world, but which is so possessed with one great truth—that of a world-conquering Christ—that even while living on earth it has its "citizenship in heaven;" a soul filled with one great purpose—to know Jesus Christ, and him crucified. Yet, while his greatness lay in the unity of his moral purpose, we find when we come to study the substance of what Paul wrote (the second element of rhetorical power) that there is an almost endless variety, an interchange of feelings and emotions, of ideas and activities, all reflected in variations of literary style such as are seldom met with in any one writer. The persistency with which his soul centers itself on the great purpose of winning the world for Christ is only equaled by the wonderful versatility with which he can adapt himself and his style to varying conditions and needs, becoming "all things to all men" for the sake of Christ. We find a sturdy iconoclasm which reminds us of Thomas Carlyle, as when he says to the Philippians, "Beware of the dogs, beware of the evil workers, beware of the concision."* We find the courtesy and humble spirit which suggest the mind of Cowper, as when he says, "Unto

* Phil. iii, 2.

me, who am less than the least of all saints, was this grace given, to preach unto the Gentiles the unsearchable riches of Christ."* We find that deep warmth of soul which brings to mind our own Whittier, as when he says, "Yea, brother, let me have joy of thee in the Lord; refresh my heart in Christ."† So great, in fact, is the variety in his movements of thought that only with a degree of reservation can we speak of a "Pauline style" at all.

And here we meet with what has formed one of the chief stumbling-blocks in the literary criticism of Paul's epistles. Some scholars have failed to recognize the wonderful versatility which coexists with the most consistent and centralized purpose in the inspired servant of God, and have evolved so many theories in regard to the genuineness of this or that epistle that the mind in attempting to follow them finds itself "in wandering mazes lost." If we should restrict our observation to three or four of Paul's epistles, choosing those that would most nearly harmonize with some preconceived theory, and from the three or four so selected deduce what we might call a Pauline style, and by the standard so obtained judge the other writings which claim to have come from Paul's hand and accept or reject them as their literary characteristics agree with the standard first assumed—if we were to pursue a method like that we should probably reach conclusions similar to the left wing of biblical critics. The Tubingen school, for instance, starting out with the theory of a feud or faction in the early Church, selects those epistles of Paul which seem most nearly to agree with this hypothesis. These are Romans, First and Second Corinthians, and Galatians; for in these epistles Paul shows more of the controversial spirit than in any other of his writings. Deducing a standard of Pauline style from these four epistles, they call in question all writings which do not agree with the one-sided standard so obtained. It is claimed that one who wrote as Paul wrote in the third and fourth chapters of Romans could not have written in the style of the

* Eph. iii, 8. † Philem. 20.

epistles to the Ephesians and the Philippians. But they overlook the versatility of Paul and the manner in which he adapts himself in each case to the object for which he is writing. In writing to set forth the cardinal doctrine of justification by faith, free to all the world, in opposition to Jewish exclusiveness, he assumes the logical and polemic style, as in Romans and Galatians, in which step by step he supports his theses with unanswerable arguments. In writing to suppress the factional spirit, and to root out scandal and inconsistency from the life of the Church, he writes in the style of stern rebuke, as to the Corinthians. In writing to combat the infectious error of the gnostic philosophy he writes in the sublime style of the letters to the Ephesians and Colossians, setting forth the Christian's privilege of fellowship with God as a far greater mystery and more ennobling conception than all the vagaries and inventions of worldly wisdom, and maintaining that the practical Christian life is the great thing to be pursued, and not "philosophy and vain deceit, after the tradition of men."* In the Epistle to the Galatians we see again the language of stinging rebuke mingled with pity for the vacillating and mercurial spirit which the Galatian church had shown; as when he says, "O foolish Galatians, who did bewitch you, before whose eyes Jesus Christ was openly set forth crucified?"† In writing to Philemon, attempting to reconcile an injured master to his runaway servant, he uses the style and language of sagacious diplomacy—even indulging for a moment in a little pleasantry, or we might say a pun; as he says: "I beseech thee for my child, whom I have begotten in my bonds, Onesimus [whose name means 'the helpful one'], who was aforetime not helpful to thee, but now is helpful to thee and to me."‡ In writing to those in Corinth who had questioned his apostleship and have shown such an arrogant and self-sufficient spirit he employs a combination of scathing sarcasm and irony. He says: "If thou didst receive it, why dost thou glory as if thou hadst not received it? Now *ye* are full!

* Col. ii, 8. † Gal. iii, 1. ‡ Philem. 10, 11.

Now *ye* are rich! Ye have reigned as kings without us: and I would to God ye did reign, that we might also reign with you. . . . *We* are fools for Christ's sake, but *ye* are wise in Christ! *We* are weak, but *ye* are strong! *Ye* are honorable, but *we* despised!" * Again he says: "For what is there wherein ye were made inferior to the rest of the churches, except it be that I myself was not a burden to you? Forgive me this wrong."† In fact, as we pass carefully through his epistles we meet with almost every style of composition, from the close dialectic of the theologian to the free-handed personal references and greetings of the letter-writer; from the ecstatic vision of the seer to the righteous indignation of a zealous servant of God; from the warm exhortations of a pastor and the tender affection of a spiritual father to the triumph shout of a soldier in the hour of victory.

And now let us glance briefly at the manner in which Paul expresses his thoughts, or, as we may term it, his forms of composition. This is the third element of rhetorical power, as previously outlined. As has already been pointed out, there is no one style which can be specifically called Pauline. We must therefore not be hasty in making generalizations in regard to his use of words and sentences. One principle, however, will serve to guide us. Recognizing the two elements which struggle for the mastery in all composition, the rhetorical and the logical elements, we shall find that in his close doctrinal reasonings, in which accuracy and precision of statement are important, Paul gives precedence to the logical element in his choice and arrangement of words, but in his emotional utterances, where his soul becomes fired with the majesty of religious truth and his heart glows with a loving sympathy, the rhetorical element of style takes the upper hand and, perhaps unconsciously to the writer, shapes the form of his utterances.

We need not be surprised, therefore, in his outbursts of religious emotion, when thought crowds on thought for utter-

* 1 Cor. iv. 7-10. † 2 Cor. xii. 13.

ance faster than language can be shaped to utter it, at finding long and involved sentences, perplexing parentheses, periods beginning with one leading idea, but interrupted by other thoughts which crowd upon the mind for expression.* The structure known as *anacoluthon,* defying the logic of the grammarian, reveals the warm and intense soul of the rhetorician.† Any careful reader of the first chapter of the Epistle to the Ephesians knows how closely he must apply his mind, and swing his very soul into line with the apostle, before he is prepared to follow him through that chapter. This tendency of the mind to outstrip the pen shows itself often in Paul's use of figurative language, sometimes leading to a mixing of figures. For instance, in Corinthians he makes an almost unconscious transition from the figure of a husbandman to that of an architect when he says: "I planted, Apollos watered, but God gave the increase. . . . For we are God's fellow-workers: ye are God's husbandry, God's building. . . . For other foundation can no man lay than that which is laid, which is Jesus Christ." ‡ Perhaps a technical critic would find fault with that paragraph, on the ground that the figures are mixed, but in doing so he would show a lack of appreciation of that vividness of imagery which characterizes all oriental thinking; and especially would he show a total lack of sympathy with the warmth and intensity of soul which lie behind all of St. Paul's writings. And where, after all, would one look for finer examples of word painting than in the pictures given us in Ephesians of the Christian soldier § and of the Christian temple? ‖ or of the Christian ambassador, as we see him in Second Corinthians, pleading with men to be reconciled to God? ¶ or of the exalted Christ, as we see him in Philippians? ** Closely allied to his use of figures is his use of the climax to add intensity to his expression, as when he tells us that "neither

* For example, Rom. ii, 13-16; 1 Cor. viii, 1-4; xv, 9, 10; 2 Cor. iii, 13-iv, 1; Eph. iii, 1-14 (where the thought begun in verse 1 is interrupted by a series of digressions running through twelve verses and is resumed in verse 14).

† For example, Rom. xvi, 25-27, R. V.; Gal. ii, 4, 5, also 6-9; Rom. v, 12-15, etc.

‡ 1 Cor. iii, 6-11. § Eph. vi, 11 17. ‖ Eph. ii, 20-22.

¶ 2 Cor. v, 20. ** Phil. ii, 9-11.

death, nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor things present, nor things to come, nor powers, nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature, shall be able to separate us from the love of God." * Sometimes he finds special vividness in the total omission of all connecting words. In the first chapter of Romans, describing the vices of the heathen world in its alienation from God, he declares how they have been filled with "all unrighteousness, wickedness, covetousness, maliciousness," and so continuing, mentioning one vice after another in such rapid succession that we might almost see passing us a panorama of evil spirits.

Again do we find him seeking vividness of expression by the use of contrasts and antitheses. A splendid example of this is the contrast drawn between sin, which came through the trespass of the one man, Adam, and the life which came through the obedience of the one, Christ.†

In nothing does he show a clearer discrimination and balancing between the logical and rhetorical elements of language than in his use of little words. His use of such words as prepositions, conjunctions, and the article furnishes a rich and fruitful field of study for him who seeks the fullest possible light upon the truths of God's book. One illustration must suffice. Let us notice for a moment Paul's use of the prepositions *through* and *from* (διά and ἐκ) in connection with his cardinal doctrine of justification by faith. Sometimes we find him speaking of justification *through* faith (δικαιωσύνη διὰ πίστεως); sometimes of being justified *from* or *in consequence of* faith (ἐκ πίστεως). We find also the same interchange of prepositions in speaking of legal justification; sometimes justification *through* law (only once, however), and at other times justification *from* or *in consequence of* law. At first one might think that Paul had jumbled his ideas, and had a very misty conception of what he wanted to say, since at times he uses a word (διά) which suggests a means of something and then another word (ἐκ) which signifies a source or cause. But a little attention to the relation

* Rom. viii, 38, 39. † Rom. v.

between the logical and rhetorical elements of language will unravel the mystery and reveal the fact that there is "method in his madness." Take those passages where he is making an accurate doctrinal statement, and we shall find that in such cases he uses the preposition *through* (διά) in connection with faith and atonement, and the preposition *from* (ἐκ) in connection with law and works. He thus posits faith as a genuine means of true righteousness, which comes from God as its source, and repudiates law as a source of worldly self-righteousness. Take for instance these words from Philippians: "That I may . . . be found in him, not having a righteousness of mine own, that which is *from* law, but that which is *through* faith in Christ, the righteousness which is *from* God upon the basis of (ἐπί) faith."* Or again: "By grace ye are saved *through* faith; and that not *from* yourselves; it is the gift of God; not *from* works, lest any man should boast."† Or again: "Wherefore *from* [in consequence of] works of law shall no flesh be justified. . . . But now apart from law a righteousness of God has been manifested, . . . but a righteousness of God *through* faith in Jesus Christ."‡ Again: "Being justified freely by his grace *through* the redemption that is in Christ Jesus: whom God set forth to be a propitiation *through* faith in his blood."§

Such is Paul's use of these little words in passages where the demands of precise statement require that the logical element shall predominate, and when he varies from this use a close study will show that there is always a rhetorical reason for the variation. For instance, in beginning the fifth chapter of Romans Paul says: "Therefore being justified *from* [in consequence of] faith, we have peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ." Here he uses the word *from* contrary to the usage before observed. And why? In the beginning of the previous chapter he raises the question, Did Abraham obtain justification *from* works? The entire

* Phil. iii, 8, 9. † Eph. ii, 8, 9. ‡ Rom. iii, 20-22.
§ Rom. iii, 24, 25. Compare also Tit. iii, 5, οὐκ ἐξ ἔργων . . . ἀλλὰ κατὰ . . . ἔλεος . . . διὰ λοὐτρου; Rom. iv, 2, ἐξ ἔργων ἐδικαιώθη.

argument of chapter iv is to show that Abraham did not obtain justification in consequence of works at all, "but *through* the righteousness of faith" (verse 13). Now, in beginning chapter v, setting forth peace and joy as fruits of justification, Paul repeats the same preposition from the previous discussion and thereby emphasizes and intensifies the contrast between law and faith. Again, in Rom. iii, 30, he says that God will justify the circumcision by faith (*ἐκ πίστεως*) and the uncircumcision through faith (*διὰ τῆς πίστεως*). This apparently arbitrary variation appears natural when we observe that *ἐκ πίστεως* is here contrasted with *ἐξ ἔργων νόμου* of verse 20. The same preposition is repeated to heighten the contrast. It was the circumcision who had especially to do with law, for to them especially had the law been committed, and they were all skilled in works of law (*ἔργα νόμου*, verse 20). In contrast now to these works of law, by (*ἐκ*) which he has just said "no flesh will be justified," he now says that the uncircumcision will be justified, not *ἐξ ἔργων*, but *ἐκ πίστεως*. Again, in Rom. ix, 30-32, where *ἐκ* is twice used with *πίστεως*, there is a striking rhetorical antithesis between *ἐκ πίστεως* in verses 30 and 32, on the one hand, and *ἐξ ἔργων* in verse 32, on the other. Again, in Gal. ii, 16, Paul first makes the precise doctrinal statement, *οὐ δικαιοῦται ἄνθρωπος ἐξ ἔργων νόμου ἐὰν μὴ διὰ πίστεως* I. X. *κτέ.* He then applies this principle to himself and his readers in the rhetorical antithesis, *ἵνα δικαιωθῶμεν ἐκ πίστεως* Χρ· *καὶ οὐκ ἐξ ἔργων νόμου*, and for the purpose of the antithesis he employs *ἐκ πίστεως*. He then clinches this application by repeating again in slightly different form his doctrinal principle: *διότι ἐξ ἔργων νόμου οὐ δικαιωθήσεται πᾶσα σάρξ*. And thus one might review every variation from the usage above stated, and he would find in every instance a rhetorical reason for it.

We have suggested only one of many fruitful lines of study which may be found in Paul's use of little words. He is no jumbler of ideas, but a master of clear thought, insisting on precise expression where the demands of his subject re-

quire it, but willing to sacrifice and vary from these precise logical standards wherever the rhetorical vividness and impressiveness of his words can be increased thereby. Paul is a master of the art of vivid and powerful expression; of so throwing his soul into his language that the soul of the reader moves with him. If that be, as it is, the true purpose of rhetoric, then is Paul in the best sense of the word a rhetorician. In looking carefully at the literary qualities of a writer we come to know better his own personality. We draw more closely to him, soul to soul. As we bring our own selves more fully into sympathy with the soul of the great apostle we shall be better able to follow him as he leads us among the deep mysteries of things divine. Then, too, we see that it is not the culture and gloss of art, helpful and desirable as they are, which constitute rhetorical power. They are indeed useful as helps, but its true source is the inner soul on fire with some great truth. Art without a soul behind it is dead; art with a living soul behind it is power and inspiration.

Edwin Sherwood.

Art. IV.—BROWNING'S PHILOSOPHY OF RELIGION AND THEORY OF LIFE.

Because a man is a poet he is not necessarily a philosopher; for paucity of thought may be hidden in a flood of beautifully sounding words, and lack of themes which embody underlying principles of life may be concealed in the attempt to intoxicate the reader with charm of movement and execution of metrical rules. Such a charge cannot be brought against Robert Browning, in whose work thought often so abounds that words can scarcely express it. Thought is uppermost, taking preeminence over mere technicality of expression or rules of form.

Browning does not discuss material questions only. Delving deep into the soul-life he reveals a truly marvelous and inspiring system of ethics and religion. Never does he fear to make clear and plain his beliefs, although it must be confessed that they are not always on the surface, easily comprehended and as easily forgotten. Rather, they lie hidden away like nuggets of gold, the effort to obtain which only tends to increase the delight of discovery and insure a careful examination. In his reasoning he starts from correct bases and then advances on his way, avoiding no question, shunning no doubt, anxious to examine for himself, not hesitating to declare his convictions. It is this fearlessness, this sincerity, this loyalty to truth, which win for Browning an attentive hearing when others fail to charm and which might well gain for him the title of "Philosopher Poet."

Browning was a firm believer in the existence of God, and upon this fact he rests the foundations of his philosophy of religion. In "Pauline" he tells us:

> I believe in God and truth and love.

In another poem he is "very sure of God;" while in "Rabbi Ben Ezra" we read:

> But I need, now as then,
> Thee, God, who moldest men.

What trust is expressed in those lines also from "Rabbi Ben Ezra:"

> Our times are in his hand, etc.

And to him God is a Father, with all the meaning of love in its fullest sense which that word implies; guarding his children with infinite care, yet just.

> Is not God now in the world his power first made?
> Is not his love still at issue with sin
> Visibly when a wrong is done on earth?

Again we read:

> As thy love is discovered almighty, almighty be proved
> Thy power that exists with and for it, of being beloved.

Even Karshish, the Arabian physician—with all his unwillingness—as he thinks of the raising of Lazarus from the dead, is forced at last to say:

> So the All-Great were the All-Loving too—
> So through the thunder comes a human voice
> Saying, "O heart I made, a heart beats here!
> Face my hands fashioned, see it in myself!
> Thou hast no power, nor mayst conceive of mine,
> But love I gave thee, with myself to love,
> And thou must love me who have died for thee!"

In Browning's mind God does not delight most in the pomp and splendor of magnificent service or studied ritual. Away from perfunctory praise arising in form and pride, permeated by worldliness and selfishness, God turns to the worship which springs from sincere love. In its simplicity it is the sweetest praise of all. How beautifully this is shown in "The Boy and the Angel;" for, when Theocrite had left his cell and Gabriel had taken his place,

> God said, "A praise is in mine ear;
> There is no doubt in it, no fear:
>
> So sing old worlds, and so
> New worlds that from my footstool go.
>
> Clearer loves sound other ways:
> I miss my little human praise."

God works out all things for the best; nothing is out of place, ill-timed, unjust. The whole history of man from the creation to the present has displayed this fact. In every phenom-

men of nature there is a divine purpose; a new device of God for bettering the world. So in "Saul" David sings:

> I have lived, seen God's hand through a lifetime, and all was for the best.
>
> I have gone the whole round of creation: I saw and I spoke:
> I, a work of God's hand for that purpose, received in my brain
> And pronounced on the rest of his handwork—returned him again
> His creation's approval or censure: I spoke as I saw:
> I report, as a man may of God's work—all's love, yet all's law.

He sees in God the incarnation of power and knowledge. Man marveling at his own ability, admiring his achievements in every realm, upon turning away from self and looking to God is made to realize his utter ignorance and the Creator's wisdom. In "Saul" again we read,

> Have I knowledge? confounded it shrivels at Wisdom laid bare.

If man prides himself upon his forethought when he compares it with God's care inevitably he is made to say,

> Have I forethought? how purblind, how blank, to the Infinite Care.

The mind of God is perfect, and his every creation must be perfect.

> Do I task any faculty highest, to image success?
> I but open my eyes—and perfection, no more and no less,
> In the kind I imagined full-fronts me, and God is seen God
> In the star, in the stone, in the flesh, in the soul and the clod.
> And thus looking within and around me I ever renew
> . . . . . .
> The submission of man's nothing-perfect to God's All-complete.

And to Browning Christ is divine, the Son of God, the Saviour of the world. He is a vital force; reigning in the hearts of men by virtue of splendid majesty, giving them a noble ideal in the form of his life—pure, spotless, in their environments; healing wounded hearts; making plain their tangled, crooked paths. He is sent to unite heaven and earth:

> 'Tis the weakness in strength that I cry for! my flesh that I seek
> In the Godhead! I seek and I find it. O Saul, it shall be
> A Face like my face that receives thee, a Man like to me
> Thou shalt love and be loved by forever: a Hand like this hand
> Shall throw open the gates of new life to thee! See the Christ stand!

In "Saul" Browning typifies the love of Christ for man by the love of David for Saul. By means of his finite and weak

human love David was able to bring Saul out from under the shadow of a moody and morose spirit; so Christ is by his love the means of rescuing not one man but the race from the lowest depths.

To simply exist in his religious life, to get into a channel and never leave it—such a life would have been unsuited to Browning's great, robust, active soul, which was ever on the alert, carefully reviewing the tenets of its faith. He admits that he had doubts, and advances the theory that they are natural to the normal mind; being necessary to its development as are the winds to the sturdy oak. In "Easter Day" he says,

> How very hard it is to be
> A Christian! . . .
> Not the mere task of making real
> That duty up to its ideal,
> Effecting thus, complete and whole,
> A purpose of the human soul—
> For that is always hard to do;
> But hard, I mean, for me and you
> To realize it, more or less,
> With even the moderate success
> Which commonly repays our strife
> To carry out the aims of life.
> . . . . . .
> We do not see it where it is,
> At the beginning of the race:
> As we proceed it shifts its place,
> And where we looked for crowns to fall,
> We find the tug's to come—that's all.

Doubts are ordained by God's law, and it is but natural that they should follow in the train of the aspirations and ambitions which he has given us. So in "La Saisias,"

> God—whose power made man and made man's wants, and made, to meet
> those wants,
> Heaven and earth, which, through the body, prove the spirit's ministrants,
> Excellently all—did he lack power or was the will in fault
> When he let blue heaven be shrouded over by the vapors of the vault,
> Gay earth drop her garlands shriveled at the first infecting breath
> Of the serpent pains which herald, swarming in, the dragon death?
> What! no way but this that man may learn and lay to heart how rife
> Life were with delights would only death allow their taste to life?

Here it is that the power of faith is shown, as it helps us to become conquerors over every adverse circumstance. If there should be no doubt, but only absolute knowledge, then what

need of faith? since the soul could live in ease without a foe, without a cloud to mar the day-gleam. "When pain ends, gain ends too." Knowledge must come as the soul is ready to receive it. Browning tells us, in "Old Pictures in Florence," that

> The race of Man
> Receives life in parts to live in a whole
> And grow here according to God's clear plan.

At last, when the soul has fought nobly, and every doubt has been conquered and faith has kept its lofty ideal free from blotch and taint, then the purpose of doubt is made clear. Especially in "Easter Day" and in "Old Pictures in Florence," from which I quote, is this thought expressed:

> When a soul has seen
> By the means of Evil that Good is best,
> And, through earth and its noise, what is heaven's serene—
> When our faith in the same has stood the test—
> Why, the child grown man you burn the rod,
> The uses of labor are surely done;
> There remaineth a rest for the people of God.

In "Christmas Eve" he emphasizes the important relation which faith in Christ has to the revelation of the beauties in God's plans:

> And because my heart I proffered,
> With true love trembling at the brim,
> He suffers me to follow him
> Forever my own way—dispensed
> From seeking to be influenced
> By all the less immediate ways
> That earth, in worships manifold,
> Adopts to reach, by prayer and praise,
> The garment's hem, which, lo, I hold!

So often we have the fancy that to learn truth we must gain it from that which is outside our own natures. Following this conception men travel over the world in search of truth; spend years away from their fellow-men, seeking it in nature; try pleasure, to see if she has concealed it, but all to no purpose. In our poet's mind truth lies within man himself, conserved in his soul, and all that is necessary to create knowledge is to make an opening through the walls around it and

allow its escape to meet the truth which comes from God. He shows this clearly in "Paracelsus."

> But, friends,
> Truth is within ourselves; it takes no rise
> From outward things, whate'er you may believe.
> There is an inmost center in us all,
> Where truth abides in fullness; and around,
> Wall upon wall, the gross flesh hems it in—
> This perfect, clear perception, which is truth;
> A baffling and perverting carnal mesh
> Binds it, and makes all error: and to know
> Rather consists in opening out a way
> Whence the imprisoned splendor may escape,
> Than in effecting entry for a light
> Supposed to be without.

The truth which is in the soul of man is no whit different from the fundamental truth of the Creator of the soul and thus strengthened man partakes of the divine character.

> The truth in God's breast
> Lies trace for trace upon ours impressed;
> Though he is so bright and we so dim
> We are made in his image, to witness him.

For Browning the future had none of those terrors which are so often given expression to in literature. It held out nothing dark and foreboding, but he found it a pleasing theme. If he ever had a doubt concerning a future existence he has not allowed it to find expression in his verse. Listen to the clear and certain tone in "Christmas Eve:"

> No; love, which, on earth, amid all the shows of it
> Has ever been the sole good of life in it,
> The love ever growing there, spite of the strife in it,
> Shall arise, made perfect, from death's repose of it.
> And I shall behold thee face to face,
> O God, and in thy light retrace
> How in all I love here still wast thou!

The soul, tenanting the house of clay on a furlough from its spirit home, shall return to the divine Soul who made it, there to live, with him, and continue to develop. And he does not concern himself with what form it shall wear. This faith in the future existence brightened his declining years; sustaining him with the hope that he would soon be reunited to her whose life had so helped and inspired his own. What a

song of valor and cheer was on his lips as the time of departure was approaching:

> Being—who?
> One who never turned his back, but marched breast forward,
> Never doubted clouds would break,
> Never dreamed, though right were worsted, wrong would triumph,
> Held we fall to rise, are baffled to fight better,
> Sleep to wake.
> No; at noonday in the bustle of man's work-time
> Greet the unseen with a cheer!
> Bid him forward, breast and back as either should be,
> "Strive and thrive!" cry, "Speed—fight on, fare ever
> There as here!"

Or as he sings again, in "Pauline:"

> Know my last state is happy, free from doubt
> Or touch of fear.

Following closely is a thought quite similar in intent and possibly serving to make clearer his conceptions of the hereafter. The future life is but an extension of the earthly existence of the soul, wherein it shall continue its struggle toward perfection. Each failure to attain the highest ideals which ambition erects for itself, each seeming turn of events which destroys cherished hopes and idolized treasures of the soul, should be accepted with submission, since they greatly strengthen the fiber of our eternal natures: the soul rising, as the phœnix, from the ashes of its destroyed hopes and mounting higher than before.

> Then welcome each rebuff
> That turns earth's smoothness rough,
> Each sting that bids not sit nor stand, but go!
> Be our joys three parts pain!
> Strive, and hold cheap the strain;
> Learn, nor account the pang; dare, never grudge the throe!

Many an earnest soul, baffled by circumstances, with little apparent success, will in that future be crowned with highest awards because of the spirit and not the results of its labors. Evil exists that it may bring out the greatness of the good and make it all the more desirable. In that bright clime no evil will be found; its functions belong only to the earth, and it perishes with the material. So we read in "Abt Vogler:"

Therefore to whom turn I but to thee, the ineffable Name?
Builder and maker, thou, of houses not made with hands!
What! have fear of change from thee, who art ever the same?
Doubt that thy power can fill the heart that thy power expands?
There shall never be one lost good! What was shall live as before;
The evil is null, is naught, is silence implying sound;
What was good shall be good, with for evil so much good more;
On the earth the broken arcs; in the heaven a perfect round.
All we have willed or hoped or dreamed of good shall exist;
Not its semblance but itself; no beauty, no good, nor power
Whose voice has gone forth, but each survives for the melodist
When eternity affirms the conception of an hour.

Since the Creator has placed in the soul of each one an indefinable desire for something beyond that which it possesses, nay, for absolute perfection, and since perfection cannot be attained on earth in the midst of temptations and doubts, for the Creator to allow the soul to have but one period of probation in which to attain its desired perfection could not be reconciled with the other qualities which God possesses. Therefore, Browning argues, the soul must continue its development in the future.

And what is our failure here but a triumph's evidence
For the fullness of the days? Have we withered or agonized?
Why else was the pause prolonged but that singing must issue thence?
Why rushed the discords in but that harmony should be prized?

In his eagerness to discourse upon his idea of the future Browning almost loses sight of death, viewed in relation to the bare thought of its physical accompaniments, and in few poems does he delay the current of his thought enough to speak of death as death. It is simply the messenger which appears to man reminding him that his work on earth has been accomplished. In another figure, he must fight his last fight while the soul contends in a last struggle against the power of the flesh. So he shows us in "Prospice."

Fear death?—to feel the fog in my throat,
  The mist in my face,
When the snows begin, and the blasts denote
  I am nearing the place,
The power of the night, the press of the storm,
  The post of the foe.
Where he stands, the Arch Fear in a visible form!
  Yet the strong man must go:

For the journey is done and the summit attained,
And the barriers fall,
Though a battle's to fight ere the guerdon be gained,
The reward of it all.
I was ever a fighter, so—one fight more,
The best and the last!
I would hate that death bandaged my eyes, and forbore,
And bade me creep past.
No! let me taste the whole of it, fare like my peers
The heroes of old,
Bear the brunt, in a minute pay glad life's arrears
Of pain, darkness and cold.

But just as the way begins to seem uncertain, just as the powers of darkness seem ready to overcome his spirit bold, they weaken, a wondrous change occurs, and he enters the light of the life hereafter. Once more we see bursting forth his unshaken faith in the immortality of the soul:

For sudden the worst turns the best to the brave,
The black minute's at end,
And the elements' rage, the fiend-voices that rave,
Shall dwindle, shall blend,
Shall change, shall become first a peace out of pain,
Then a light, then thy breast,
O thou soul of my soul! I shall clasp thee again,
And with God be the rest!

Browning divided the soul into three parts: What "does," what "knows," what "is." In "A Death in the Desert" he says:

Three souls which make up one soul: first, to wit,
A soul of each and all the bodily parts,
Seated therein, which works, and is what Does;

the next soul

feeleth, thinketh, willeth—is what Knows;

the last soul,

constituting man's self, is what Is.

He was what one might call a *soul evolutionist;* believing that the soul grew constantly in power and wisdom, ever learning, ever receiving new light upon the truth. So:

Since much that at the first in deed and word
Lay simply and sufficiently exposed
Had grown (or else my soul was grown to match,
Fed through such years, familiar with such light,
Guarded and guided still to see and speak)
Of new significance and fresh result;

What first were guessed as points I now knew stars,
And named them in the gospel I have writ.

No pessimist was Browning, inclined to look upon the world through dark glasses; he was emphatically an optimist, viewing life in the bright sunlight of a cheerful, happy soul. In his works are no complaints against God's plans, rather a desire to see in everything that which is most desirable for man,

That He, the Eternal First and Last,
Who in his power had so surpassed
All man conceives of what is might—
. . . . . .
Would never, . . .
With power to work all love desires.
Bestow e'en less than man requires;
That he who endlessly was teaching
. . . . . .
Would never need that I, in turn,
Should point him out defect unheeded,
And show that God had yet to learn
What the meanest human creature needed.

His firm trust in God gave a brightness and charm which may be noticed all through his poems. No sadness seems able to quell that spirit of cheerfulness which bubbled up from his very soul; and as old age came on he voiced his feelings in that grand cry of "Rabbi Ben Ezra:"

Grow old along with me!
The best is yet to be:
The last of life, for which the first was made.
Our times are in his hand
Who saith, "A whole I planned,
Youth shows but half; trust God: see all, nor be afraid!"

In "Reverie" we read:

Then life is—to wake, not sleep.
Rise, and not rest, but press
From earth's level where blindly creep
Things perfected, more or less,
To the heaven's height, far and steep.

Although Browning was very firm in his beliefs, he saw that one great difficulty in the religious world is the lack of charity manifested by the various sects for one another. In "Christmas Eve" we have a very clear and succinct statement of his attitude in this matter. Here was the Zion Chapel,

whose members believed their doctrines to be absolutely correct and as a result were so self-centered that the stranger in their midst received the interrogation from their looks, if not in words,

> What! you, the alien, you have ventured
> To take with us, the elect, your station?

Such an attitude was very selfish and

> 'Twas too provoking!
> So, saying, . . .
> "I wanted a taste, and now there's enough of it,"
> I flung out of the little chapel.

The poet is then carried to St. Peter's, with its service made splendid by form and luxury, and he feels that, as

> the taper fires
> Pant up, the winding brazen spires
> Heave loftier yet the baldachin;
> The incense-gaspings, long kept in,
> Suspire in clouds; the organ blatant
> Holds his breath and grovels latent,

the form of the worship excludes that which is more important —the spirit of humility. Subsequently he considers the address of a German professor, and, with his human tendencies, feels that there is too much rationalism in it. Having seen these three typical forms of worship—the Dissenting Church, with its emotion and feeling, St. Peter's, with its mere formalism, and the coldly intellectual Rationalism—his prejudices are overcome by the loving instruction of the spirit of Christ, his guide. The Dissenters' Church aids its honest members and gives them one bright spot in their weary round of existence, St. Peter's of necessity reaches a far different class, one which might never have a serious thought were it not for this church. The professor, though he may rob Christ of his divinity, bids his hearers,

> Go home and venerate the myth
> I thus have experimented with;
> This man, continue to adore him
> Rather than all who went before him
> And all who ever followed after!

No faith is too simple which leads its believers in the way

of truth, none too formal to become in God's hands the means of accomplishing good. With what grand words he closes:

> Better have knelt at the poorest stream
> That trickles in pain from the straitest rift!
> For the less or the more is all God's gift,
> Who blocks up or breaks wide the granite seam.
> And here, is there water or not, to drink?
> I then, in ignorance and weakness,
> Taking God's help, have attained to think
> My heart does best to receive in meekness
> That mode of worship, as most to his mind,
> Where, earthly aids being cast behind,
> His All in All appears serene
> With the thinnest human veil between.
> . . . . . .
> It were to be wished the flaws were fewer
> In the earthen vessel, holding treasure
> Which lies as safe in a golden ewer;
> But the main thing is, does it hold good measure?
> Heaven soon sets right all other matters!

What a world of charity is manifest here:

> And let us hope
> That no worse blessing befall the Pope,
> Turned sick at last of to-day's buffoonery,
> . . . . . .
> Nor may the Professor forego its peace
> At Göttingen presently; when in the dusk
> . . . . . .
> He gropes for something more substantial
> Than a fable, myth, or personification,
> May Christ do for him what no mere man shall,
> And stand confessed as the God of salvation!

Having thus considered some of Browning's distinctively religious views let us turn to the consideration of some other of his theories of life.

Possibly there is no theme discussed more fully by him than love, and it is safe to say that few if any poets have looked at it from as many varied and sublime points of view. Well may he be called the "Poet of Love." Love is the basis of his philosophy, the fundamental principle of the world. It was an essential feature of his own life, lending a great charm to all that he did. We get a glimpse of this in "My Star:"

All that I know
Of a certain star
Is, it can throw
(Like the angled spar)
Now a dart of red,
Now a dart of blue;
Till my friends have said
They would fain see, too,
My star that dartles the red and blue!
Then it stops like a bird; like a flower hangs furled:
They must solace themselves with the Saturn above it.
What matter to me if their star is a world?
Mine has opened its soul to me; therefore I love it.

He argues that love is the reason of life. It was divine Love that created man and then gave him woman as his companion that this love might be perpetuated. In "Evelyn Hope" the lover says:

No, indeed! for God above
Is great to grant, as mighty to make,
And creates the love to reward the love.

As he says in "Christmas Eve," it is but natural for man to love,

But love is the ever-springing fountain;
Man may enlarge or narrow his bed
For the water's play, but the water-head—
How can he multiply or reduce it?
As easy create it as cause it to cease.

Love is the only thing in life that is lasting. Nations once mighty in their sway have long years ago ceased to exist, the creations of man molder at the touch of time, but love still lives, powerful as ever. So in "Love Among the Ruins:"

In one year they sent a million fighters forth
South and North.
And they built their gods a brazen pillar high
As the sky,
Yet reserved a thousand chariots in full force—
Gold, of course.
Oh heart! oh blood that freezes, blood that burns!
Earth's returns
For whole centuries of folly, noise and sin!
Shut them in
With their triumphs and their glories and the rest!
Love is best.

Browning never looks at love from a low standpoint. His poems of domestic love are models and reveal a most loving

and sincere character. There are few tenderer portrayals of a mother's love than this in "The Ring and the Book." Speaking of her boy Pompilia says:

> When he grows up and gets to be my age,
> He will seem hardly more than a great boy;
> And if he asks, "What was my mother like?"
> . . . . . .
> I wish some one will please to say
> I looked already old though I was young.

Where can be found a truer description of a faithful wife than in "Any Wife to Any Husband," as she says:

> I have but to be by thee, and thy hand
> Will never let mine go, nor heart withstand
> The beating of my heart to reach its place.
> When shall I look for thee and feel thee gone?
> When cry for the old comfort and find none?

In the story of Pompilia and Caponsacchi he carries love into a different realm. Here is the poor young girl-wife hated and persecuted by her fiendish husband. Love is for her an empty sound, a meaningless word. Here is Caponsacchi, young and gay, but he becomes a true, noble-hearted man when he sees Pompilia's wretched condition. There springs up between the two a love which is so deep and true that, even about to die, Pompilia can say:

> There,
> Strength comes already with the utterance!
> I will remember once more for his sake
> The sorrow: for he lives and is belied.
> Could he be here, how he would speak for me.

And Caponsacchi, even though before the tribunal, expresses the feeling of his heart thus:

> The Augustinian of the Hospital,
> Who writes the letter, he confessed, he says,
> Many a dying person, never one
> So sweet and true and pure and beautiful.

In his great regard for love Browning does not overlook the value of knowledge, realizing that without knowledge to aid it love will fail in its mission. The two must go together, as he tells us in "Paracelsus," when Paracelsus, whose ideal is knowledge, addresses the following to Aprile, who loves:

We must never part.
Are we not halves of one dissevered world
Whom this strange chance unites once more?
Part? never!
Till thou, the lover, know; and I, the knower,
Love—until both are saved.

In "Reverie" he explains the relation of Knowledge to Good and Evil. The Soul is the center of knowledge, the companion of the body; both created simultaneously and containing the germs of true life.

So, my annals thus begin:
With body, to life awoke
Soul, the immortal twin
Of body, which bore soul's yoke—
Since mortal and not akin.

This incipient life, this soul, the center of knowledge, begins to look away from itself and out upon that which it sees about it, to take in Nature, gradually increasing its scope, beginning with simple, easily comprehensible things and then advancing to the more complex:

How but from near to far
Should knowledge proceed, increase?
Try the clod ere test the star!
Bring our inside strife to peace
Ere we wage, on the outside, war!

As a result of this work of the soul there comes a product of knowledge called power. It is the natural effect of the force exerted by knowledge, omnipotent and controlling all things:

All is effect of cause:
As it would has willed and done
Power: and my mind's applause
Goes, passing laws each one,
To Omnipotence, lord of laws.

The soul observes that there are two forces in the world, good and evil, which are as two mighty warriors fighting to the very death, evil seeming to have the advantage on his side:

Head praises, but heart refrains
From loving's acknowledgment.
Whole losses outweigh half gains;
Earth's good is with evil blent,
Good struggles but evil reigns.

If the omnipotent power cannot cause good to win it must

follow that it is limited in its sway. Such a result is fundamentally impossible.

In "Rabbi Ben Ezra" he tells us his ideas concerning the relation of youth to age. Youth is the season of doubt and perplexity, when the soul has strivings within and strife without. Every object brings up a question, life being in a period of formation. As the soul struggles on, seeking what is best, faith is deduced from life; and the character has an anchor to hold it firm amid all the temptations it encounters. The soul and flesh are colaborers, the one must help the other; the flesh affording foundation for the soul's attainments to rest upon.

> All good things
> Are ours, nor soul helps flesh more, now, than flesh helps soul!

At last, taught why youth should struggle and overcome its foes, age may look forward to the future with hope and trust.

> Youth ended, I shall try
> My gain or loss thereby;
> . . . . . .
> I shall know, being old.
> . . . . . .
> The Future I may face now I have proved the Past.

And life is real; life is earnest; it is not to be spent in mere day dreaming and the pursuit of idle fancies, but every moment should have its noble deed or work of value. In "Paracelsus" we read:

> At worst I have performed my share of the task:
> The rest is God's concern; mine, merely this,
> To know that I have obstinately held
> By my own work. . . .
> . . . What's failure or success to me?
> I have subdued my life to the one purpose
> Whereto I ordained it.

N. Wilbur Helm.

Art. V.—A WALK ALONG A RAILROAD IN JUNE.

The season was mid-June. The region was a prairie. The place was a five-mile stretch of railroad running eastward undeviatingly as the flight of an arrow. Landing at a village in the early morning with three hours to wait for my train, the out-of-doors challenged me to walk to the next hamlet; and, my custom being never to take a dare from nature if my employment will allow me leisure, I swung out right gayly to answer the challenge. The day was dustless, rains having sprinkled field and road and gardens quite recently; the skies were dimmed with a veil of cloud not dense enough to obscure the sun nor to dim the blue completely, but enough to calm the sunlight into entire pleasantness for a walk like mine. A pleasant wind blew from the east and kept the track unhesitatingly as a locomotive, while I, with the butterflies and wild bees, drifted from side to side as flowers and grasses and tangle of vines invited me.

Now, a railroad is what our friend Ruskin railed at with his delightful spleen; and the logic of his complaint was that the railroad stood for utility and John Ruskin stood for nature, and what John Ruskin stood for was what should be. Ruskin had all the sweet dogmatism and self-confidence of a little child. I like his love of field and flood; more still, I love it, but scarcely enjoy his vituperation though put into English sweet enough to make even scolding charming, nor enjoy it at all when he raves against those modern appliances which have changed the economic world, and us from provincials into cosmopolites. And beyond this, use is needful as beauty and more needful if all the truth were told. Use and beauty must not be thought of as enemies but friends. The cooking stove is quite as essential as clematis. They cherish no antipathy. Use is lacking in the picturesque, but drudgery must needs be for the world's bettering. A railroad, while anything but beautiful, is the chore boy of civilization, the stevedore that carries our burdens from

wharf to wharf and from hold to dock, and with prospect of neither emolument nor delight serves all save itself. Such service, free-handed and free-hearted, always compels my regard. I half venerate it, as I do a mother of many children, whose hands are worn to scars and hardness by much toiling for the ones she loves. Who serves, God loves. The road gives its wealth of labor as uncomplainingly as a mother to her daughter. Let no jest nor sneer be directed toward those whose sweaty shoulders bend to the burden of world's work; let us rather requite such sturdy toil with appreciation which is better far than gold. The railroad track is to me the embodiment of uncomplaining, unacknowledged toil whose praises are in nobody's mouth.

However, I have found that if the railroad is itself lacking in beauty it affords shelter for the beautiful. Anyone who has been much out of doors in our later days knows how beauty of tangled thicket and room for gathering of bloom and bird are growing rarer; for are not the straggling fences rotting down and giving place to fences of wire, which leave no least protection from grazing herd or flock or tramping foot for brier or clump of grasses or blackberry with its arch of vine and sweet, blinding surprise of snow-white blossom? But all this shelter the railroad supplies, and calls to the homeless garden of nature, "I will give you room," and makes good this cordial invitation. On either side of the track is a goodly breadth given over to nature. A ditch dug in building the roadbed gives place for water to stand, and where water stands there is invitation for flag and cat-tail and swamp grasses; and the embankment gives privilege for the wild rose to hold tryst with the wild bee, and makes banks leaning south where in the new springtime violets may stand in pools of blue, and grasses may grow, unafraid of the lowing herd. If you, friend, have never known how dear a shelter the barren railroad affords nature's refugees, pray you give the matter heed.

Five miles of invitation of perfumed June life lie before me. The last robin of my journey calls with its flute note from

the fringes of the village. He hugs the town, I fear me, overmuch, and I tremble lest his morals become corrupted; but he eyes me from his barn roof with a curious look, as if commiserating the moneyless traveler who must plod along the track instead of riding on the train or going on a robin's speeding wings. If men are not small folks in the birds' eyes I miss my guess. They have a right to feel aristocrats who have wings and know to fly. The skies are fair highways for treading, and I piously envy all winged things. Sometimes I fear I love the country more than is comely, and then I recall I do not love it so much as God does and am content. My march this fair morning was as a king's triumph, all royal things coming to meet me. The soft winds sweet with rose perfumes welcomed me with a kiss full on the mouth; vines reached out their graceful tendrils my way; a meadow lark called to me from a nodding red clover head; a quail invisible, hid somewhere in meadow or hedgerow, piped in his cheerful voice across a cornfield as if to intimate he was where he had full right to be; the talkative sparrows chatted along the way, having their say about the traveler going past with his arms full of flowers; a single blackbird with his hot crimson epaulets flung by me as in high dudgeon, though I had done him no earthly harm. This way is poor in birds, much to my regret, and I know not why. Blackbirds should have been here in garrulous multitudes. Plovers I looked for and found none. I think perhaps this is a bird's holiday and they are gone from home; for certainly they are not here, and the day is fair and belongs to them. But vegetation there was a fortune of. The spring had latter rains, and all things had the brilliancy of perpetuated youth upon them. Leaves fairly flashed in the light, as if sparks were smitten from them. Long miles of grasses rank and lush grew nodding to the wind. On either side were fields planted to corn, with the farmers plowing the long rows of emerald; or pastures of prairie grass, than which few sights are fairer to the eyes; or red clover fields lent modest perfume to the air, for few odors can compare in delicacy with those wafted from

the red clover meadow, so delicate that, unless the flowers are in masses of acres in breadth, you will not get the fragrance at all. Fields of oats with their quick green answered to the wind, and a wheatfield with a faint haze of harvest on it felt the goings of the spring wind. Woods there were none. Only a willow stooped across a ravine showing where was hidden water, or a planted elm waved its graceful curved plumes, or a cottonwood, which tree I profess to love, and have sometimes talked, sometimes written my affection, not being content with a single declaration. One cottonwood I stop to listen to—and indeed what one of them do I not stop to listen to?—for the rain upon their roof is very sweet to me and their tearful commotion is something my heart always remembers. This tree stood along a field edge lifting its deep green into the air in a manly fashion as unashamed to front the sky, and through its branches ran the drift of autumn rain, and I closed my eyes and listened, as loath to pass; and farther off, half across a field, a group stood together where I could hear, as they half whispered their rainy colloquies. Spring it was, or early summer, but they, as I gathered, were speaking about autumn and the sear leaf and the last late rose and the departure of the swallows—and who could blame them for having tears in their voices?

I made my leisure journey. Naught troubled me nor hasted me. The time was God's and summer's and mine. I stopped at every pastoral and grew inquisitive at every stop. Something enticed me everywhere. Three hours I had, though I could use three days. One cannot have too much leisure with nature. She is coy like a hermit thrush, so that those who hasten may not know her, but I sped leisurely. Most plants along the road I knew, some I had not seen, or, speaking exactly, one, and that made me glad because it is so good to make a new friend among the flowers. One's life is infinitely enriched thereby. To meet old friends in flowers or folks is delightful, and meeting new folks and flowers has a tang of gladness also. One new friend among birds or flowers, or gentle green among the leaves—what think you of

that, my heart? One white flower I met this day I had not met aforetime, and the memory of its dainty beauty lingers caressingly. Five-petaled, pure white as a blackberry blossom, growing low on the earth, beckoning the wind, sheltered by the grasses, sometimes a few feet of ground would be star-white with them, sometimes one bloomed solitary like a forgotten life some one has died and left, but whether single or in groups the flower was dainty fair and left a gentle memory to my heart. I see it yet. Along the track were no rosebushes with their frowsy archings and interarchings, and had there been the time of roses was not yet. That sweetness was to be an anticipation. Not all flowers bloom at once. God is too good for that. He sows his flowers through all the lanes of spring, summer, autumn; and I love him for it. But, rosebushes being absent, rose blooms were present and burned along the banks or flamed in the grasses like sparks from a hurrying engine. They were inexpressibly beautiful. My eyes caressed them, and I would linger over every flushed face I saw, as if it were the last I was to set eyes upon. Seldom more than six to nine inches high, they took you by surprise—by a sweet surprise; and they were always fair, running in color from pure white to deep crimson, each seeming as I saw it fairer than its sister, as each child in a family circle. Here a single flame shot like a firefly's lamp, there a bank flushed into sudden flame with them. One was white sprinkled daintily with pink, another was bronzed as with some chaste enamel, another pink as a seashell, so delicate you feared to look straight at it lest the blush die away to be seen no more. I wished I were painter so as to paint them all, but could I? And the buds, ready for flowering, were fairer than the flower, and had moss upon them, so that I thought I had found a colony of God's moss roses growing wild. When spring comes round and the dwarf roses bloom, go you, good friend, and watch for them as for the coming of a longed-for comrade; and bring some of the loveliest away with you and press them in a book, and write in the book where you found them, their color, when you

gathered them, and their sweet capricious ways, and confess you love them, whereat, mayhap, they may learn to love you in return—who knows? For a mile and more along the banks the wild parsnip was swaying to the touch of every wind—whorls of gold was what they were—and looking across a mile of them was looking at a pathway of wrought gold, and who was I to walk on gold-paved streets before my time, or to stand, as sometimes I did when the flowers stood tall, in golden corridors?

Once, just once, a rivulet crossed the path. I saw it glint among the grasses and come slyly closer, like some living thing filled with curiosity, and then it ran under our bridge as one affrighted, but the water was clear and intent on its journey. If I spoke to it in passing it either heard not or, if hearing, made no reply, nor even gave a backward look. Perhaps its reticence was to hide ignorance, for perchance it knew not whither it was going, only knowing it was time to haste like a truant child overtaken by the dark; and I cried, "You are going to the sea," but no word did it reply, only there was audible laughter such as I loved to listen to; and I seemed to be bent on talking to the rivulet, for I said, "You are journeying, but I too am journeying, and to the sea, only my sea is shoreless and remote, and toward it I make haste, though oftener I fear with tears than with laughter. Yours is the better way, laughing onward toward the sea." I crossed a group of shrubs unknown to me, whose leaves were of such redness as to stand like a dull flame in the midst of the gay greenery of the grasses that hedged them in. And the slough grasses are always beautiful to my eyes. I never yet have tired of them, and here they grew in eager luxuriance, and in some parts were of such brilliant green as if they had barely wakened from a refreshing winter sleep, and with all freshness on them, like a newly awakened child, looked at you in sweet surprise. The grasses, grown taller, had a sedateness and sense of dignity such as I have sometimes seen in women. Stately they were and drooping—all bowed as soldiers who had stood guard all night and were sleeping in the day. The

wind came and caressed them, but they woke not or barely nodded as if saying, "Let me sleep, let me—" and the sleepy voice fell asleep. They were secret-keeping like marsh grasses by the sea. I love this waving green when winds drowse or flurry by, and the grass, somnolent yet fluent, answered as in a dream to this fond caress, and I feared the winds might disturb their rest, and the slumber was on them when the wind was gone.

The crowning glory of the walk was the blue flags. They and I were old friends, though I had never known them in such profusion, for they stood for two miles and more in solid ranks on both sides the track. You do not know how beautiful the blue flag is till you have seen it in such long procession. Standing alone, this flower has a gawky appearance, and when seen in small groups this awkwardness is not materially lessened; but when seen in their armies, where on looking back they drift like blue smoke lying low along the ground and for miles—then they are a pageant of beauty and color. I gathered them till I could carry no more, but gathered them all in my heart. Not a blue flag nodded on its stem when my love had passed by. I see the mass of color and delight as I write, as I did the day I walked in the midst as if I were crowned king of all that excellence, and I mistake if for all the days of my life I shall not feel as if on a day in June I had walked in a royal procession. To see that blue muster in the early summer was worth going mile on mile to see. The violets had put their lights out weeks ago, and here is a flower that holds its bloom aloft like clustered stars of blue, as if violets clustered on the umbels. You must keep close to the ground to see a violet, but these flowers hang their blue aloft like a light and there shines blue as the mid-oceans. There they stand sometimes like soldiers in ranks ready for war, sometimes they spring suddenly out of the dense green of the swamp grass I have told you of, and you see no stalk of flower at all, only a green sea waking from sleep into amethyst with downy centers blue as the petals are and each pistil dipped in a pot of gold dust.

One thing I found this day I had never found before, and that was a pure white flag with snow-white center and the pistil tipped with gold. The beauty of it fairly took my breath. That day I had seen flags of every hue of blue, from light sky blue to the black blue of ocean, and some with only a haze of blue, faint, delicate, remote as if the color were an afterthought; but this blue flag blooming cloud-white was quite beyond me. So is God always and still always surprising us.

But down the track behind me I see a cloud of smoke. My holiday I plainly see is ended. My train is coming and is no laggard. I must leave this long journey of gladness though loath as ever sailor to quit the sea. I have had a journey in the lands of dreams, so fair they were. I had walked down a five-mile stretch of railroad, and it had been as if I had wandered inland across the hills of God.

W. A. Quayle.

Art. VI.—MORE LITURGY OR MORE LIFE.

In a course of lectures on Christian worship, delivered in Union Theological Seminary, different branches of the Church were represented, yet we find no Methodist speaker. It could not have been that we could not furnish those in favor of the so-called improved machineries of religion, or that we have no discussions in our denomination as to the drift toward more ritual. The agitation for more and fixed forms has reached a stage in the Presbyterian Church where the advocates have organized a society to forward arranged services. The announced intent of this society is to relieve that Church from "the evils of confusion and ritualism, and to promote beauty and reverence in the worship of God in his holy house and the spirit of common prayer and praise among the people." To remove or prevent the indicated evils the plan is to fix a manner for public devotion and induce the minister to conform by a sentiment or a regulation. The basis for the movement is that the average minister is not competent to conduct the sanctuary services so as to make them proper or profitable! We find that what is meant by confusion is variety in the order and contents of worship. We may admit that it will not be amiss to refine away crudities, to incorporate elegancies, to adjust differences and get all to agree to certain essential elements in right adorations throughout that great denomination. What alarms us is the grounds laid down for the argument in behalf of the suggested fettering. We note that all the arguments used by the apostles of ceremonialism are presented to justify this push toward established programs in Church services. Imagine these descendants of John Knox, who so heartily struck his blows against "the vessels, the wax lights, garments, and altars subverting the true religion," enforcing the use of customs and costumes which conduct all who employ them away from simplicity to stateliness and then on to sacramentarianism! Knox had been in the fog and knew what produced the

mist. He saw the terminals in movements. We are informed that this call is sustained by these suggestions: "The historical spirit; the tradition of the Church; the longing for Christian unity; the sacredness and beauty of the affluent liturgical literature we have inherited and the confessed deficiency and inadequacy of the average extemporaneous prayer."

Nothing is so serious in these suggestions as that fixed forms are required on account of the inability of the clergy to conduct services so as to help the people and please God. With established exercises they will always be in good taste and of benefit to the participants and rightly represent the needs and gratitude of the congregation. It is hinted that a check should be put upon the love of novelty and the presumption of the thoughtless or ignorant. Difference is to some as evil as depravity, and therefore away with variations as if vicious. Propriety must be maintained, and the only plan is to print in advance and place the formulas in the hands of the incompetent clergy. After we get the terms right, then we must adjust the tones, and that will require that the rhythm be fixed, or the rate at which the safe sentences shall be repeated. If there is a carelessness in the wording of worship there is sometimes a speed in it that is too sluggish or too swift. Let the time be exactly settled, else we may have drones in the desk who almost sleep over the prayer book, or such dashers as the monk who was appointed Bishop of Salisbury because he could race through the services so rapidly as to suit "hunting men." It is soberly suggested that if the prayer is not prescribed so as to be familiar the people will be only curious to know what the agile sentence maker in the pulpit will frame next, and this will convert the listener into a witness of a series "of pious reflections and emotions in another without any participation in them."

Are we sure that routine methods grip the attention and hold it better than the sincere outflow of a living leader? When we are told that the settled form of prayer is more conducive to spiritual states than the attempt to strain the

mind "following a prayer through an unknown country" we suggest that the interest of the people is in proportion to newness, and that interest is one of the most valuable items in Church worship. Demonstrate that the paper will hold the attention as the person cannot, and we shall emphasize the missal and subordinate the man. Protestantism was built on the preacher and not the performer. It must not be forgotten that the prayers are to be read. How? In an interesting way? If so, the voice and spirit of the reader will have to be used to catch the eye and ear and heart. At last it is the man who gives success to the services so far as the human side is concerned. If congregations are now only critics we should be glad to change to any plan that will make them participants. Will it be through the simultaneous and stereotyped?

The fascination of the familiar is thought to be so strong that a great divine has advised the young preacher in the nonliturgical organizations to "form a litany for himself with care and pains, collecting all petitions which occur to him or are suggested by his experience as a minister, and also gathering from his parish folk all such items, casting them into simple words with a regular form of his own making, using this until his audience will be so attached to it they will complain if a word be changed!" We have known a few congregations that had to suffer these ditto pulpit exercises until the mind could wander off and return to find its place as readily as in the well-thumbed prayer book. And it has been said that the sameness often produced a wish for a man in place of the machine.

Much stress is laid by the advocates of increased liturgy upon the union among the Churches that will result. Some claim that it is by similarity in ritual that we shall at last come together. For if we have common prayers it is certain they will be largely from those venerable shapes which are sacred from long use. In borrowing our book of worship we will connect ourselves with that past which was in devotion as in doctrine so much purer than the present! Does our study show, as one tells us, that the ritual of the earlier Church

moved from inwardness to outwardness so far that "the body of Christ rather than the Spirit of Christ elicited the popular reverence," and out of this tendency there sprang the adoration of relics and bones? If so, would it not be wise to inquire if by adopting the methods of those yesterdays we may not exchange the house of life for the house of death, filled with all manner of corruptions. If we go back far enough we find the primitive Christians satisfied with prayer, reading the Scripture, hymns, preaching—what has been styled "a homiletical service." It was later when was introduced "the dramatization of the passion of Christ." Then came the evils of sensuous worship.

We are aware that those who call for "the enrichment of worship" do not propose to introduce ritualism or go to Rome at once. We simply pause before we start toward these inherited forms to view the drift in other ages and ask, If we face toward a certain point may we not get there? Dr. Allen, of the Protestant Episcopal Theological School, Cambridge, Mass., says: "The impulse to liturgical development was oriental in its origin." We wonder if we must go to any point of the compass to borrow ready-made styles of adoration which were appropriate to the paganism for which they were intended. Is the Christian Church in this twentieth century to join in the cry of latter isms, "Let us look to the East"—for wisdom and worship?

If it be true that to agree with other centuries in the shapes of sanctuary services is to sustain a certain continuity, then a question arises as to whether this is not a mechanical rather than a spiritual combination. The succession of the Spirit is the only one as to which we need have concern. Why should this productive period lack power to express piety any less than to indicate its life in other ways? Do we not recognize the difference in taste and terms suitable to separated ages? Who cares now for the Johnsonian in literature, or the elaborate elegance in sermons so usual in the days of pulpit dignity and ornamentation. Why shall we pray in the methods of the ancient any more than preach?

We hear it in Protestantism that we cannot directly teach the people into the old truth while we may by adopting the ancient forms of devotion sing and pray them into these ideas that have been permanently preserved in ancient liturgies. Ceremonies are to be the cementing power, the prayer book with its clasps holding the Church in a unity! We do not say the saints of far-off time did not know how to approach and adore God. They had their way and best for them. But much of this craving for the ancient is that latter-day fad for the archaic which makes the distant wear an aureole and leaves the excellence about us without appreciation. To-day can be trusted to invent its terms in which to properly express its feelings before the Most High.

The religious æsthete insists that the artistic test must be applied to find values in worship, as if the Lord set great stress upon beauty rather than sincerity. Simplicity is called nakedness. How does the service strike the eye and sound to the ear of the human? That is with many the final test.

The edge of this discussion has entered our Methodism in the question as to whether our order of worship is to be fixed or free. All admit that we have not agreed in the style of services. Should we? It is certain that those with tastes for the ornate have not enjoyed our undecorated devotions. We have not had the sweep and swell of the High Church performance. Some are asking that we begin to add the flowers of correctness and attractiveness. We must have, they say, more ritual. The idea that a minister who lives, loves, and labors, and so ranges through the average history of souls, and is a real man, cannot lead the congregation in helpful and inspiring petitions and praises is amazing. We are shocked at the declaration that it is a monstrous assumption for any one man to suppose he can be large and wise enough to comprehend and represent the spiritual needs of five hundred persons. He must be assisted by the loan fund of ancient prayers, all of which were produced by some former person. Why may not this one of the present be as competent as that one of far-off date? If we are considering what a dull

man needs to supplement him we will go farther and ask, Why have a dull man in such a place? Why not put life in his heart rather than liturgy in his hand. It would be well to work on the improvement of the man and not the machinery. Dr. Egbert C. Smythe suggests that when the Holy Spirit is active in those who lead and those who join in extemporaneous prayers the result will at times transcend in power anything attainable when all is prescribed. That is all we claim—that freedom is toward the supreme effects. If the Spirit is to be had for the asking, why not claim that power and be less concerned about shaping a system of forms. Carpentering is not a proper substitute for calling for the Holy Ghost until he produces what one has called "the liturgy of the Spirit."

We have been gliding in our denomination so easily that we may not see how far we have gone. We have quite a ritual. We have attempted uniformity in the order of worship. Fix the order and it is not a great move to say what that outline shall contain—lessons, prayers, etc. If the pastor is not competent to wisely adjust the manner of worship how can he be fit to provide the materials in it? He must have the guide of a book of worship. We have not yet settled on oneness in the contents of the services, but have faced that way. Some are asking, if the preachers are not to be trusted to vary the order of worship, but must be told now do this and then do that, whether it is safe to allow them to say anything. If one is not able to speak to God is he to be permitted to speak to men? Would it not be well to relieve the nervous from fear of improprieties in sermons? After we got the order for worship fixed, and then the prayers completed, and then the sermons prepared by a Bureau for the Safety of the Church, we will have a truly unified Methodism!

This apology for liturgies will multiply the lame clergy who limp in the conduct of devotions as surely as a supply of crutches will keep the children from being quick and easy walkers. The Archbishop of Canterbury exclaimed, after James I would not allow any discretion as to "doctrine or dis-

cipline in substance or ceremony," that "undoubtedly your majesty spake by the special assistance of God's Spirit," while some are not so sure that this fear of liberty in the shaping of our sanctuary services is a suggestion that will work out good. When Jewell says that the clergy in his days were "no better than logs of wood, without talent, learning, or morality," he justified the ritual for use by such; but we have an opinion of the pastors in our Church that on the average they are sensible and religious to a degree where they can be trusted to lead the devotions of the people without a constant monitor to notify them as to what is suitable. Our twenty-second article of religion says that "it is not necessary that rites and ceremonies should in all places be the same, or exactly alike." All we are to seek is that "all things may be done to edification." Our itinerancy is justifiable only on the ground of a preacher being allowed to use his individual abilities. Will not this similarity tend to prevent personal development? The new pastor will only differ in shape and voice. Why change for such elements of freshness?

We are not sure that this agreement for which some are anxious, and the liturgical growth through which it is to be reached, are wise moves in the direction of that great work which as a branch of the Church we were nominated to do. Before we go farther in this line we might hear the warning from Canon Eyton, who succeeded Dean Farrar at St. Margaret's, Westminster, when he tells us that "Ritualism has lost its early mystical form in which it was beautiful; and also its self-sacrificing form. It has become a symptomatic form of unbelief. Men make religion their God instead of God their religion." Such alarms from such a source should not be lost on us. Our fathers refused to fetter themselves with Wesley's prepared service; why shall we pick up what they discarded and mayhap end in millinery and mouthings. "Better a crust of bread than a mountain of confections. Better a cowslip with a root than a prize carnation without it."

We have been taunted about our bald services until we have

begun to blush with shame over our nakedness. Before we admit too much as to our emptiness will we not ask if we have had unfruitful services? If we have won no souls for our Lord, then garment-making may conceal our feebleness. Once we had plain people, and the worship agreed with their simple lives and tastes. Methodism was noted for the power in its meetings. Now we have cathedrals, and we are asked to give up the flaming exhortations of the old time and substitute the neat essay of the scholar, and to abandon the naturalness and often rudeness of the Spirit-moved man for the ordered and ornate ceremonies more agreeable to the finer few who attend our grander temples. Will the new garb be the magnificent cerements in which the dead Church shall be splendidly wrapped, or the proper vestments in which she shall be meet to go forth and greet her Lord? We need to think on these things.

See how far we have come. We had a hymn book; we have a hymnal. We once took a collection; now it is the offering, and the choir gives us the offertory. We have set words in which to receive members on probation and in full fellowship. We must consecrate deaconesses by a form. We have a liturgical service with no sermon for the communion day. We are advised to follow an order and recite the creed in our morning worship. We have responsive readings and prayer books on sale in our bookstores. We have vested choirs and processionals and recessionals. We have started and the cry is "On!" If the seed of apostolic succession must ripen into sacramentarianism and the inherited forms have been the stock on which have appeared all the flowers of ecclesiastical æstheticism, may we not inquire what is that root which some have planted among us and what will be the harvest? If a little ritual creates a craving for more is it wise to set in our members a taste that will take them where they can get all they want of this diet of forms?

The idea that if we do not elevate and decorate our worship we will lose the cultured goes on the ground that there is a great clamor for splendid ceremonies. If that wish was

general the liturgical Churches should have grown more rapidly. Our pointedness and presentness captured the millions. The masses do not care for mustiness. If we reconstruct for the sake of the few we may retain such, though that is doubtful, while we shall certainly lose the many who prefer to have a man rather than a manual suggest the service.

Charles Kingsley put the value of life above liturgy when he said it would be "better for every one of you to be the most sickly, nervous, incapable personage who ever was the laughing-stock of the boys upon the streets, if you lived according to your powers the life of the Spirit of God, than to be as perfectly gifted and as exquisitely organized in body and mind as David himself and not to live the life of the Spirit of God." So we think that though a Church may be crude in its methods, almost repulsive as judged by dilettant rules, if it gets the whole heart in its exercises it will be more acceptable to God than the most faultless machinery conducted with a view to its effects upon the human more than upon the divine.

We were delighted with a description of a success attained by an Edinburgh pastor, who, winning so many souls, yet "his service is Puritanical in simplicity but Pentecostal in power." That combination solves the question of Methodistic progress. We need vigor, not varnish; the throb of God pulsing in our sanctuaries, and then the heaven-lighted worship will have the beauty of holiness so much better than the glow of earthly finish, while the old ladder so often missing will be ever in place on which the angels will move up and down to carry up our supplications and to bring down our supplies. Life will be better than liturgy.

Chas. M. Giffin

Art. VII.—WHAT CONSTITUTES A CALL TO PREACH.

That very little has been written upon this important subject is no evidence that the call to preach is either vague or obscure. God has largely reserved the right to make known to those whom he has chosen to proclaim the Gospel of salvation, and in such a call it is safe to say is found the most marked manifestation of the continued revelation of God to man.

The position taken in this paper is that a call to preach is more definite and important than a call to any other vocation. God not only has a right to give a special call to those who enter his ministry, but it would seem unreasonable if he did not do so. The work of calling men from sin to righteousness, of preaching the kingdom of God on earth, of building up Christian character and fitting men for an eternal inheritance in God's presence, is of such importance—so near to the great purposes of God and so essential to the eternal welfare of man—that a definite call would be expected. God should put his hand upon those who are to proclaim his truth to men's souls. Here the Discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church has taken safe grounds. Paragraph 103 reads:

> In order that we may try those persons who profess to be moved by the Holy Ghost to preach, let the following questions be asked, namely:
>
> 1. Do they know God as a pardoning God? Have they the love of God abiding in them? Do they desire nothing but God? Are they holy in all manner of conversation?
>
> 2. Have they gifts, as well as grace, for the work? Have they, in some tolerable degree, *a clear, sound understanding; a right judgment* in the things of God; a just conception of salvation by faith? Has God given them any degree of utterance? Do they speak justly, readily, clearly?
>
> 3. Have any been truly convinced of sin and converted to God, and are believers *edified*, by their preaching?
>
> As long as these marks concur in anyone, we believe he is called of God to preach. These we receive as sufficient proof that he is moved by the Holy Ghost.

Such a test would seem absolutely necessary, for it is some-

times the case that young men do not examine their motives with sufficient care. In entering the Christian ministry there should be most careful and prayerful self-examination. The young man should ask himself, "What are the underlying intentions that lead me in this direction?"

Here let us examine some of the wrong motives.

First, there are those who think the preacher has an *easy time* in life. True, there is something agreeable and pleasant about the ministry to him who puts his whole heart and life into it, but it is not easy in the matter of work or responsibility. Many and arduous are his tasks, and his responsibilities are greater than those of men in any other occupation. Often this is not observed from the outside, and there is some danger that this false motive may have its effect. Second, the Christian ministry is looked upon as occupying a high place socially. This is true. The minister may be made welcome in circles where members of other professions would not be admitted. But the desire to hold such a social position would most decidedly be a wrong motive for entering the ranks. Third, one who desires to follow literature sees that the ministry gives him excellent opportunities. There is but one other field that affords so good an opening, and that is literature itself. One who sets out to read and to write, and this only, may stand a better chance than the minister. But let us look at the ministry in this regard. Let us presume that the preacher is a good pastor and a careful manager of his church; he must not neglect these, for if he does he fails; but three or four hours every day wisely used will give the preacher ample opportunity to do a vast amount of pastoral calling and oversight. Then if he gives six hours to his books and meditation and sermon building, which is all in the line of literary work, and if while in this he works with all his might, he in due time will become versed in literature. But if he enter the ministry because of this he fails. Fourth, another finds himself endowed with a good voice, he loves public speaking, and the ministry will give him a chance to cultivate and display his oratorical talents. If this be his

motive, his fine voice will be as a sounding brass and his oratory will prove to be a cheap display of fireworks. Let no man think that he has a sufficient reason for entering the ministry when he feels that he wants to be an orator.

This brief consideration of false motives would not be fairly representative unless we called attention to the earnest wishes and *requests of fond parents.* It would hardly be correct to say that these have nothing to do with the call to preach, but parents may err and be unwise in overpersuasion in this matter. A son may respect the opinions of his parents, but a man must decide this question for himself in the light of other and weightier motives. It is a matter between him and God, largely. A man that is out of his God-appointed sphere might about as well be out of the world. That so many are out of place is one of the catastrophes of society. Then with this in view, to be in the right place and with a strong desire to please God, let all watch lest they enter the ministry from a false motive.

In the true call to preach there are *five vital points,* each of which ought to be considered as bearing upon this question of more than earthly importance. First and foremost is God's direct call by his still small voice.

If we believe that God has a continued interest in the affairs of this world we can believe that he speaks to men by his Holy Spirit. The deist would take exception to this philosophy, since he has no place for a divine providence; but as theists we accept the position that God has his hands on the affairs of the world to-day. He has not moved out and left us to grope our way in the dark. Since then, God is here, and interested in all the affairs of the nations and the world, it is easy to believe he is most interested in what pertains to the kingdom which he established by his Son, and it is of vast importance who are the preachers in his kingdom. So God makes known his thought to the one he is calling to preach. Some who have received this call could not at first tell what it meant. They did not feel "Woe is me if I do not preach." This came later and after resisting God's call. It was not

vivid in its initiative. The call to the ministry is often like the early growth of a flower. You go to your garden and see a plant of some kind is bursting through the crust of the soil. You feel like plucking it out, thinking it to be a weed, but for a while you wait and watch it grow. Many days pass before you can name it. You may not be certain what it is till the flowers open. So in a youthful human heart God plants a seed. In that seed is the embryo of life's work, but we wait weeks, months, years, before we are clear in our own minds what it really means. We know it is there, but in those early years we are not expert psychologists. Some one is calling and something wooing us to life's work. We do not name it. We dare not. We cannot. We may think it a false call—only a weed—and may stretch forth the hand to pluck it out, but the hand is stayed. At the right time God makes clear what he means by it. It is the voice of God, the still small voice, speaking to the soul. Without this call man must not go into the ministry. With it God goes with him and blesses his labors. With the call of God to a man's soul, if he refuses to hear and heed, in whatever vocation he may seek to find employment and with whatever outward signs of prosperity he may seem to be blessed, there is the inner consciousness that he has disobeyed God's voice.

But a man may think he has this call of God and be deceived. In this case he must test some of the other points which follow. God has not hung the door to the ministry on one hinge. Great doors have from three to five hinges. The door to the ministry swings open to admit giants. Not all are giants who enter; but the giant does not need to stoop to pass in. Following the direct call of God comes the effect that it produces upon one's whole being: the *man's deep and lasting conviction.* This is the sequence of the other in logical order, and from it he cannot escape with impunity. If he gets away he is harmed morally and religiously. The voice of the Church, too, should not be ignored. While the Church is a divine institution it is made up of very human creatures. Consequently it is liable to err, and there are two

notable dangers to be guarded against. One is that a young man may very easily be undervalued as to his graces and gifts in the community in which he was reared. Probably more than half of those who are granted a license to preach are actually underestimated by those voting for the recommendation. The other danger is more charitable but no less dangerous. A member of the Quarterly Conference might reason in his own mind thus: "Here is a young man who feels that God has called him to preach. This is not my judgment, but I do not want to vote against him; peradventure by so doing I may seem to vote against the call of God." So he votes "Yea," and it may be to the detriment of the young man and the great harm of God's Church.

But God works through his Church, and God speaks through his Church. It is not of small consideration what saith the Church. Let him who feels himself called to the ministry go to the leaders of the Church and inquire what are their impressions. What is the pastor's judgment? What says the class leader, who has had ample opportunity to analyze his Christian experience? If, however, without his inquiry, they have approached the candidate upon the subject, this is worth more than when he has asked them and they have answered, "Yes; go preach." When without his solicitation the pastor, the class leader, the Sunday school teacher, and several of the most deeply pious and those blessed with a well-balanced and ripe judgment open the question to him and ask if it is not his conviction that God wants him in his ministry, then he may truly feel that this is the voice of God through his Church. God has a manifold revelation of himself—in his book, in nature, in the human soul, in history. So God in revealing his call to a man may come in through many doors to make known his request.

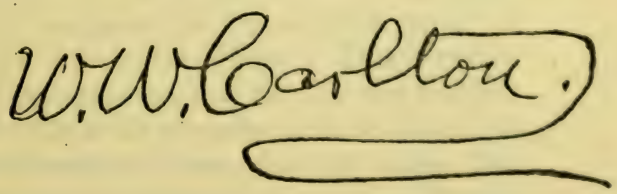
The fourth point in the call is the overwhelming desire to spend one's whole strength in the service of God. Secular business may seem nothing. Love for God and for humanity draws him naturally to the ministry. He carefully looks over all the fields of labor into which he might enter, but the

constraining love of Christ makes all others seem insignificant when compared with the ministry. This in concurrence with the other calls is a strong indication. He feels, "Here is my greatest chance to be useful to the world. In the ministry I can accomplish something, by the grace of God, that will be worth while." So he pushes aside high position that may be opened to him, honor and wealth, as easily as a child would roll a marble out of his way, and thinks only of service to God and humanity. Now, this desire for service, standing alone, is not enough. Every true Christian has this desire for service to the Master and follows this conviction, whether he works in the shops or in the field or becomes a statesman, and when one is called to preach this is a part of the call. It is contemporaneous certainly, and should have force in weighing the matter.

But the last of the five here named is the opening of doors for preparation and of opportunity for work. God does not call a man to so high an office as that of the Christian ministry and then thrust him out into the work without proper and fitting qualifications. Would a mother bird thrust her babes from the nest before the down is displaced by substantial feathers? Certainly not. God, possessed of all wisdom, would not show less wisdom than his creature. Proper fitting and thorough qualification is a necessity for these times. With reverence we would say that God keeps up with the times. His hand makes the times. Fifty or a hundred years ago the unschooled might preach to the unschooled, but the college graduate and theologically trained could do it better provided he were endowed with common sense and indued with the Holy Spirit. To-day the young preacher is to minister to the schooled. Unless he is thoroughly educated he will not be equal to those whom he attempts to instruct. Now, as God calls to preach, he makes a way for preparation. God's hand is in the planting of these Christian colleges and seminaries. If the door for the proper scholastic equipment seems to open, and the path leads to this door, then take this as a part of the divine call. Then, as the opportunities for

work open, and God honors his work, let him count himself happy. God does not, and man must not, ignore the fitness of things. Proper talents and general abilities and qualifications all bear upon the question. God takes cognizance of a man's common sense. Religion is common sense permeated by the divine Spirit, tied back to God and in harmony with him. Then, keep in mind the fitness of things, not in one's own strength, but because he feels the assurance of the guidance of God, with a good average ability, assured that God's voice has spoken, it is safe to go into the ministry.

There are reasons for believing that some who are called in are afterward called out of the ministry. This would come rather in a negative way: the removing of the voice of God. This might come, we would expect it to come, after something had taken place which unfitted a man for the ministry. Israel was once God's chosen people, but does he still speak through that people as he did three thousand years ago? Is there not a people to-day that God is using in preference to them? Sometimes God calls a man for just a special occasion. So God calls to college work or to literature. Or again, when one called of God steps out of the way, yields to some sudden temptation and commits crime, and the public cease to have confidence in that man, it is most reasonable that God should lift his call. Happy is that man who can say and feel continually, with Isaiah of old, "The Spirit of the Lord God is upon me; because the Lord hath anointed me to preach good tidings unto the meek; he hath sent me to bind up the broken-hearted."



Art. VIII.—POETS OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

Poetry may be called the angel of literature. When to its essential elements—harmony, melody, and measure—are added the further qualities of beauty, simplicity, and spirituality, the metaphor is hardly exaggerated. Because of the ethereal and celestial nature of the best product of the Muse the poet and the preacher are near of kin. Indeed, in many cases the two are the same, more than three quarters of the sacred numbers in our Methodist Hymnal being emanations of the pulpit. Says Ruskin, "To see clearly is prophecy, poetry, and religion all in one;" and Emerson adds, "The love of truth, the love of goodness, and the love of beauty—these three are equal." Even Matthew Arnold, never suspected of a fondness for hearing sermons, says, "The strongest part of religion to-day is its unconscious poetry." A great poem is an inspiration. It whets the mind, chastens the imagination, enlarges the vision, ennobles the feelings. Since the great preacher is in many cases the debtor of the great poet let us see what dower "God's prophets of the beautiful" have conferred upon us during the century just gone.

Because of its unpractical nature it has been unmistakenly supposed that the production of poetry must cease as the progress of science binds men with stronger tie to the hard and fast earth. "As civilization advances," says Lord Macaulay, "poetry must inevitably decline." Notwithstanding this high authority to the contrary, it is more than likely that when the capable critic shall estimate the literary riches of the century it will be found that "the unfallen speech" is its most valuable gift to the world of letters. This is venturing much when it is considered that the last one hundred years has beheld the rise of all the great works of fiction, has seen history more correctly and more elegantly written than ever before, and, in fact, has witnessed every form of literary craft, the epistolary art and that of the drama alone excepted, make extraordinary gains. Let us examine the

grounds for this assertion, though the scope of the subject and the space at command compel a pitiless condensation. The abundance of riches is simply overwhelming. Mr. Stedman has found over four hundred American poets worthy of a place in his recently published Anthology, and our country has played but a minor part in the century's grand oratorio of song. Samples, even titles, of poems in this brief review must be rigidly barred. A snap shot at each famous bard in the long procession is all that can be attempted.

When the century opened English verse was still under the domination of Alexander Pope. Although that literary autocrat had been fifty years dead the terrible critic Francis Jeffreys in his *Edinburgh Review,* the pioneer of that class of periodicals, continued to measure all poetry by the standard of Pope, as at a later period Ruskin measured all painting by the rule of Turner. A mere teller of tales in rhyme, it is the great merit of Sir Walter Scott that he broke away from the bondage of form and became the harbinger of a laureled host whose memory the heirs of the English tongue can never suffer to perish. But, while these ballads of love and war came like a fresh breeze after the platitudes of Pope, they did not long hold the popular ear. A louder and more commanding voice broke in upon these simple chants, and the fickle public turned away from the magician of the northern hills to hear a trumpeter belauding the classic glories of southern lands beyond the sea. His career meteoric and his temper volcanic, the new singer burst like a conquering hero upon the dazzled eyes of the literary world. Such a personality, not to say such a singularity, had rarely if ever swum into the ken of the literary realm, and for a time—alas, how brief a time!—his countrymen paid him homage second only to that accorded to Shakespeare. With the advent of Lord Byron the roof of the world lifted, the horizon extended, and the fame of English verse was greatly augmented. In his highest sweep and swoop of power, we are plunged into the three abstractions, infinity, immensity, eternity; we stand in the presence of the three sublimities, the sky, the

sea, and man. Had his goodness equaled his greatness this lordly writer might have outranked any poet of the century. But unfortunately his note is pessimistic; it is the yesterday of sorrow and the to-morrow of death; his the juggernaut car whose wheels are mockery and irony. The sky is beautiful, but it is a ring of fate. Man is mighty, but his sun is set. "Babylon is fallen, is fallen," we seem to hear him ever say. On the wide sea of this sorrowful soul our line finds no bottom, our telescope no star. Contemporaneous with Lord Byron, and dividing with him the admiration of the world of letters, stands forth a very different kind of poet. A man of the very first order of genius, all-sided and many-gifted, seeing with the scientist's eye and touching with the magician's wand, Samuel Taylor Coleridge, except for the short Byronic eclipse, was easily the master mind of his day. Pity that so great powers could not have been concentrated! Had he chosen to be a philosopher he would doubtless have approached the heights of Plato; had he willed to be a poet only it is possible that Milton would have had a peer in the nineteenth century; but because he was poet, critic, and philosopher all in one he has left us no monument worthy of his amazing genius. We have only fragments, though the fragments of a god—here the head of a Hercules and there the arm of a Venus—and we part with his work with the regret that so great an intellect could not have been poised by a coequal will.

Two other voices make the first quarter of the century rich in poetic art. Twin stars of about equal splendor, alike popular and short-lived, both with a fondness for nature and a strong sense of the supernatural, Shelley and Keats deserve to be classed together. And yet they are as unlike as an oak and an elm. Keats attains greater heights of feeling, Shelley soars to loftier flights of fancy. In Keats the elusiveness bewilders; the shadow pursues the echo; it is now a drug and now a dream. He suggests rather than describes; it is a silhouette rather than a substance. You see a soldier, you imagine an army; you catch sight of a sail on the ocean's

rim, you think it the advance ship of a fleet. In Shelley, on the other hand, it is the environment that perplexes. He creates an atmosphere which defies analysis as much as that which Hawthorne creates in fiction. He revels in mythology, in fancy creations, in lights that were never on land or sea. Sad that songs so sweet should be so short, the music of the one great poet lasting less than ten years, and that of the other less than five!

We have now reached the second quarter of our splendid century. In this era three resplendent names outshine all others. The first of these is one of which our literature may well be proud. If readers of the English language could ever be induced to add another figure to the lofty pedestal occupied by Chaucer, Spenser, Milton, and Shakespeare, the fifth man would undoubtedly be William Wordsworth. In all that long stretch of time between Milton and Tennyson his is certainly the highest peak. Unlike Byron, who struck only one, he touches two strings—goodness and power. He is preeminently the poet of nature. With feet flat to the earth, with eyes sharp as needles, with the ear of a savage and the heart of a saint, he saw in all the vast and changing phenomena of the natural world the veil of the spiritual and the eternal. And his work has another quality that resists the tooth of time—the love of his race. He did not, like Matthew Arnold, flee to nature to escape his neighbor, but he loved the work of the Creator alike in the hue of the flower and in the face of his fellow. For him the rags of every beggar hide the embryo of an angel, and the meanest daisy is full of hidden glory and bears the symbol of the Almighty. To find the equal of this great literary artist during this period we must look across the British Channel, and here in sunny France, the only modern nation that can rival England in the purity and power of its poetic thought, we discover one every way worthy of his Anglo-Saxon compeer—the great and good Victor Hugo. Like Coleridge, he employs his genius in diverse fields, but the Frenchman did not try to till them all at once. Writing for full sixty years, he is first a poet, then

a critic, then a politician, and finally a novelist. In the first and last of these fields he will live as long as the French language endures; longer, perhaps, for his masterpieces of prose and rhyme have been translated into many tongues. In fervor and in color, in magnificence of phrase together with rare combinations of sound, in skill to wed a shy thought to a strong word, he is the Shakespeare of France.

During the same period an American author must be named, not so much by reason of his power and productiveness as for his originality and on account of the ceaseless quarrel among critics concerning his art and place. Treat as lightly as we may his acrobatic feats in rhyme and his musical somersaults, call him, as Emerson did, "the jingle man," still some of the work of Edgar Allan Poe meets the test of genius—a strange haunting quality which the reader cannot shake off and which must give at least some small place in immortality to this son of sorrow.

We reach now the third quarter—or, not to be too rigid in the division, the late middle—of our century of song. This was truly the flowering period of the Victorian era. Between the years 1840 and 1880 at least a score of great poets were simultaneously weaving their ethereal and many-colored webs, and it is a matter of gratulation to the lover of musical thought that poetry was not behind the other forms of elegant literature in this prolific and climacteric era; that while Macaulay was composing his splendid history, while George Eliot was writing her incomparable novels, and while Ruskin was polishing his superb mosaics of art the gifted apostles of beauty were recording in terms of melodious and immortal verse what they saw and felt. Three only can be allotted any degree of space. The first of this trio of Titans is of course Alfred Tennyson. For full fifty years not a figure has approached him in literary dignity, and there is even some reason to think that his final place will be next after Milton; for, though at present Wordsworth holds that high honor, the position of the Lake poet is fixed, while the star of Tennyson is still rising. This is not the place for an elaborate

analysis of his marvelous powers, but we may say, in one comprehensive phrase, that he combines with the lofty inspiration of the poet the most painstaking art of the painter. In range of feeling he is like a gigantic tree whose roots grope down toward the central fires and whose boughs soar up toward the eternal stars. His work has humor as well as pathos, but violet dry or violet wet, it always is violet; always there is delicacy of expression, always purity of thought. Next to Tennyson, though standing in marked contrast to the former laureate, the popular verdict places Robert Browning. Of him it cannot be said, as it might be said of some of his contemporaries, that his rich casket of words contains only a pebble of thought. He is, of all poets, the thinker, the analyst, the psychologist, the profound student of human nature. He has weight as well as mass, substance as well as swing, matter as well as motion. With ideas so subtle that they must be pried open, split apart, walked around, slept over, there is combined a portrait gallery in which the face of every passion and aspiration looks out of life.

After Browning the British reader is doubtful of choice. We in America are not so bewildered, for here also is a born seer who had the vision of the mighty and the touch of the holy. A household name in millions of homes in the great republic and known of all scholars beyond the sea, our Longfellow truly deserves to be classed with the great poets of all time. A few years ago an article in *The Independent* related the story of a passenger on an ocean steamer to the effect that, during a discussion at the dinner table, six persons representing as many different nationalities—Scotch, Russian, Greek, French, English, and American—recited verses from the works of the American bard, and one, a Russian lady, said, "Do you suppose there is any other poet, of any country, living or dead, from whom so many of us could have quoted?" Not one. Not even Shakespeare or Homer. The qualities of his verse that have given it this universal vogue are undoubtedly its humanity and its emphasis upon what is best in man, and in a minor degree his morality, sanity, and serenity.

When we glance at the wealth of poetry in the age in which these writers flourished we are dismayed at the long roll of noble names that must be dismissed with a line. Foremost in the large chorus stands Swinburne, that wizard of words of whom it may be said that no man since Shakespeare has touched so many keys of the English language and touched them so well; and after him is Rossetti, painter by profession as well as poet by nature, a thought-packer whose poems are pictures and who can orb a world with a phrase; then two soprano voices bid for our ear, Christina Rossetti and Elizabeth Browning, singers for whom sweet fame has burnished equal crowns. The former, divinely simple and natural, has written some of the noblest lyrics in the English tongue, and the latter has produced at least one story in rhyme that must live forever. And we must not forget Matthew Arnold, whose pride it was to compare himself with Wordsworth, but who, we fear, in spite of a few fine lines and landscapes was more of a critic than a poet. To our mind the other Arnold, the romantic Edwin, following in the track of the Irish poet Moore and flushing under the light of oriental skies, will make a brighter if not a larger line on the far horizon of time. We have also the laureate, Alfred Austin, a poet by elevation rather than by inspiration, who might be listened to with some degree of pleasure if we could forget that he occupies the seat of Tennyson without the gift of the master. Far more worthy of the bays in the judgment of the people was William Morris, but then he was the singer of socialism, whose art is as beautiful as his world is impossible.

Of American poets of this era singing in the minor key we have Bryant, who has written at least one poem, needless to name, which must place him among the morning stars of song; and Holmes, who hung out his doctor's sign in Boston and while waiting for the "smallest favors and fevers" amused himself with epigrams that caught the popular ear; and Lowell, as robust as a Greek statue with never a bit of Attic rudeness; and Whittier, the Quaker, who dowered the homely with the spirit of the heavenly; and Lanier, bright-

est of the Southern constellations whose tone-color fellows him with Swinburne; and Aldrich, with a man's voice and a woman's soul; and Bayard Taylor who now and then strikes a note as exquisite as any to be found in English song; and Walt Whitman, a being so complex that he cannot be analyzed and so original that he must be placed in a class by himself; and Emerson, whose faculty in prose of linking together the most unlike things when essaying poetry has produced some sterling lines; and Eugene Field, on the point of whose quaint pen a smile or a tear perches with equal grace.

Nor must we forget other poets, not of our tongue, who during these songful years have flung their strains to the breeze. Among Frenchmen, one of the greatest after Hugo is Lamartine, who has written some of the finest poems of the century and who has the merit, rare among his countrymen of letters, of being deeply religious. De Musset, by turns eccentric and magnificent, at times brutal and tender, has the effect of two men, one pious and eloquent and the other flippant and rude. Paul Verlaine was, according to his own account of himself, "a cursed poet," but this expression refers rather to the misfortunes of his life than the quality of his work. In spite of his sinful career his poetry is the cry of a soul and is for the most part clear, candid, and Christian. Of poets beyond the Alps there are only two of sufficient stature to attract the eyes of the western hemisphere. In Germany Heine represents his century as Goethe represented his, and in Russia Puskin's force and originality have been such as to make a vogue, if not an epoch, in that unpoetic land.

It is natural to inquire whether the end of the century has fulfilled the promise and sustained the power of its earlier and later Muse. To this question the answer must be an unqualified negative. This is especially true of verse in Great Britain and America. In or near the eighth decade the glory of English letters as represented in poetry suffered an eclipse from which it has not yet emerged. In the years between 1882 and 1892 the harps dropped from the hands of those

sweet, strong spirits, Lowell, Longfellow, Emerson, Whitman, Tennyson, and Browning, and no great singer has yet arrived to take their place. Rudyard Kipling has given us some strong and more strange compositions. William Watson has some leonine verses, but he has not yet proved himself a poet of the first rank. Joaquin Miller dashes like a mountain stream and like a mountain stream is fitful and unreliable. Bliss Carman carves with a delicate tool, but is sometimes black where he ought to be white, and is occasionally bald where he means to be brilliant. Madison Cawein, with his cleverness and rich vocabulary, is one of the most promising of the younger men, his art at present, however, showing better in the rendering of foreign verse than in the making of his own brand. Ella Wheeler Wilcox has written some perspiring poems of passion, but is lacking in breadth and poise. Edwin Markham has leaped into notice with a monody in touch with the times, but his tools are too few and his years too full for great expectations. Will Carleton has attained a kind of popularity by his embalming of commonplace characters in quaint rhyme which can hardly be called poetry. Howells the novelist, Stedman the anthologist, and Mary Mapes Dodge the editor, as well as one hundred other men and women of the literary guild, have found time to court the coy and disdainful Muse, some of them with no small success, but on the whole it must be said that there is now no poet singing in the English tongue with the sweetness and power of the half dozen full-voiced nightingales of a quarter century ago.

What is to be the future of poetry? Will there be another golden age, and, if so, what will be its character? Of what will the new poets sing? Looking to the past we can see that there have been several practical interregnums followed by new sceptres of power and light. In the dearth that followed the death of Chaucer who could have predicted the brilliant era of Spenser and Shakespeare and Milton and Ben Jonson? and in the stillness in which the nineteenth century was born who could have anticipated the burst of song that made

famous the age of Byron, Wordsworth, Coleridge, Shelley, and Keats? And, when in the early century all but one of those silver voices were hushed in the tomb, who, amid the deep lamentation, could foresee that a score of great singers would soon tread the stage, and that the era of Victoria would rival the literary splendors of the reign of Elizabeth? There is good reason to think that the present stagnation is only the resting of the harp, and that soon will break forth strains as grand and sweet as ever burdened a poet's heart or filled a prophet's tongue.

As to the character of the new poetry, it will probably not be local or national. A Kipling may pen a Recessional to laud the grandeur of England and a Rodman Drake may ring out the glories of the American flag as it flecks the beauty of far and strange seas, but the great poets of the twentieth century will touch notes elemental and universal. The coming age is to be one of world-unity. The globe is to be girdled, the earth is to be empired, the continents are to be sown with light: the poet must have a theme as wide as the interests of the human race. It may be religious, but it cannot be war. It must be humanitarian. The old forms of Latin literature, smooth as the marble and cold as the moon, are dead because they had no heart. The early English novels, teeming with wit and wisdom, are dead because they had only scorn for the poor. Poetry follows the same law. The immortal one must dip his pen in his heart. He who knows how to weave chaste and beautiful thoughts, he who has heard the world's cry and carries in his bosom the world's Christ—he alone will be a great poet and he will live forever.

Wilbert C. Blakeman.

Art. IX.—THE HEART OF THE APOCALYPSE.

Luther, in the fearless exercise of Protestant freedom, declared the Apocalypse valueless and denied its right to a place in the canon of Scripture. We may be quite sure, however, that with the light which critical scholarship has thrown upon the nature and character of the book, and its legitimate interpretation and place among the revelations of Jesus Christ, he would without reserve accord it a place of honor. It is, as its opening sentence says, a "Revelation of Jesus Christ." It is an essential part of the revelation of the Christ; without it that revelation would be incomplete.

The gospels give us in marvelous clearness and completeness the life of Jesus from four distinct standpoints: Matthew tells us who Jesus was. He wrote for the Jewish Christians. He traces the fulfillment in Christ of Messianic prophecy. He shows that Christ came to fulfill, not destroy, the law. Mark's is the gospel of service. He shows us the Saviour in action; tells us what Jesus did. Luke's gospel tells us who Jesus was, but in a sense quite different from Matthew. Luke shows him to be the Son of God. His gospel dwells upon the annunciation and the ascension. Luke gives us a philosophy of the life of Christ, or rather an orderly arrangement of the gospel history, calculated to show that the despised and crucified Nazarene was the Son of God in power, a divine King. John tells us what Jesus said; reports the conversations of Jesus. John's was an intuitive faith. His gospel is a picture of Christ as beautiful as it is simple in style. But his chief concern is to show Jesus the divine, the Logos of God. In John's gospel Jesus stands transfigured. The words and the acts of the Saviour are handled by John as a transparent medium through which we see the Christ, the Revealer of the Father, the "very image of his substance (Heb. i, 3, R. V.). John remembers how Jesus said, "He that hath seen me hath seen the Father" (John xiv, 9); and "I and the Father are one" (John x, 30). There is, we shall see, a very close affin-

ity between the gospel of John and the Apocalypse as to their central purpose, arguing identity of authorship. The gospel handles the events of the life of Jesus in a way to reveal the Christ through them, and the Apocalypse handles the events of the world in John's day in such a way as to reveal, through contemporary history, the Christ, the "Lamb of God," as "Lord of lords" and "King of kings."

Accepting without going into the discussion the quite universally accepted conclusion of scholarship, we place the Apocalypse next to Paul's writings in point of time and many years before the gospel and epistles of John were written. While the logical order of thought would seem to place the gospel conception first, the natural order is probably the reverse. The Apocalypse threw its light of revelation back upon the gospel history and led John to a new interpretation of what he had before seen "as through a glass, darkly." In this sense John's gospel doubtless idealizes Christ, and it is this spiritual illumination that gives to the gospel its unique value. The marked differences in style and thought between the Apocalypse and the other writings of John are thus accounted for. The gospel and epistles are the last ripe, rich utterance of the beloved disciple. The great spiritual truths of Christianity, as embodied in the teaching and life, come out in these last writings in their grand simplicity. There shine the peace and beauty of the law of love. It is the glory of sunshine after storm, of peace after conflict, the assurance and calm of faith after the storm and stress of persecution. But in the Apocalypse we have the earlier utterance. The Greek is not so pure, the style is more stilted, the thought more turgid. It is the product of a mighty faith in the midst of the storm and stress of persecution. Jesus had forwarned his disciples in highly symbolic language, saying: "There shall be signs in sun and moon and stars; and upon the earth distress of nations, in perplexity for the roaring of the sea and the billows; men fainting for fear, and for expectation of the things which are coming on the world: for the powers of the heavens shall be shaken. And

then shall they see the Son of man coming in a cloud with power and great glory. But when these things begin to come to pass, look up, and lift up your heads; because your redemption draweth nigh" (Luke xxi, 25-28, R. V.). To John on Patmos are the warning and the promise fulfilled.

It is a characteristic of all apocalyptical literature that it describes in well-defined imagery the events of the period in which it is composed. It deals with contemporary history. The predictive element is confined to the statement of principles and moral issues which persist through all history. It is the "application of eternal principles to contemporary events." It is intended to give courage and assurance to men of faith in troublous times. Moreover, to have spoken plainly concerning the empire and the emperors and the world-conflict which was raging would certainly have been to court martyrdom. Symbolic language such as is used in John's apocalyptical writing would be understood by the Christians only. In confirmation of this view it has been pointed out that Josephus is constantly on his guard, though himself in friendly relations with the Flavian emperors, lest he should arouse the jealousy of his Roman readers. And Jesephus was an apostate Jew; how much more would a John need to be cautious! Peter referred to Rome as "Babylon," and Paul seems to observe studied reticence, once only referring to Rome as "the man of sin" (2 Thess. ii, 3). The Acts of the Apostles also seem to end abruptly at a point where it would be dangerous to deal farther with the relations between the empire and the Church. John clothes his thought in obscure language, yet intelligible enough to the Christians for whose comfort it was written. Nero is the "beast;" or, rather, for the time, he is the embodiment and incarnation of the spirit of evil and antichrist. He persecuted the Christians with a malignity unsurpassed by anything in history. Nor were the terrors of those times confined to the Christians; it was a Reign of Terror. Joseph Cook in his lectures on Heredity makes a study of Nero, his father, and his mother as their traits are preserved in the busts that stand in the

Hall of the Emperors at Rome. Agrippina's face, even in marble, impresses you, he says, that Nero's mother, in spite of the fineness of fiber of Italian temperament, was one of the fools caught by the pleasures that, as Cicero justly says, are by no means the greatest, the sensual class of indulgences. Her organization was not coarse and yet it was low. Nero was the son of his mother; the same traits were emphasized, bestialized. His father, Ahenobarbus, had no force except for evil. When congratulated upon the birth of a son (Nero) he said that whatever was born of him and Agrippina could bring ruin only to the state. The evolution of Nero from these beginnings can be traced in the busts taken at different periods of his life, and remain written in a history of cruelty and blood. There was a widespread, superstitious dread that the monster was superhuman, and would come to life again after his death to trouble men. There seems a reference to this in Rev. xiii, 3: "And I saw one of his heads as it were wounded to death; and his deadly wound was healed: and all the world wondered after the beast." It was not a resurrected Nero but Domitian, his successor, to whom John referred.

This, the general view of scholarship, sweeps away at once all those vagaries and fanciful interpretations that have attempted to find in the Apocalypse a program of the world's future history and have at various times identified the "beast" as a prophecy realized in the popes, in Mohammed, in Napoleon, and innumerable others. Such interpretations depend on the prejudices and passions of the hour for their particular application and are manifestly unreliable. The principles involved are eternal. The conflict seen so graphically in current history at the time John wrote is the continuous conflict between right and wrong, good and evil. And the relations of Christ to this world-conflict and to his redeemed is graphically symbolized. Says Farrar:

> The true grandeur of the Apocalypse lies in its applicability to the terrible days in which it was written, and in the fact that it expressed the inextinguishable hopes and indomitable courage of

Christianity when Christians first found themselves face to face with such perils as had never before been dreamed of. "Without tears," says Bengel, "it was not written; without tears it cannot be understood." It is rather a pæan of exultation poured forth out of the midst of anguish than a "*miserere* wrung from mighty grief." The words in which it was written, as they sprang fresh and burning from the heart of the seer, passed, fresh and burning, in all the full force of their then intelligible symbols, into the hearts of those to whom they appealed. . . . It was a rallying cry to the armies of Christ at the moment when they seemed to be trampled in irremediable defeat; it was meant to show them in what light they were to regard the great persecution under Nero and the Jewish rebellion. It expressed the thoughts of men who had seen Peter crucified and Paul beheaded. It is the "thundering reverberation of a mighty spirit" struck into stormy music by the plectrum of apparent overthrow. . . . At such an hour of visitation, when the earth seemed to reel under the stroke of her judgments and the stars of heaven to be shaken from their places as the fig tree sheddeth its ripe fruit when the little bands of Christians were fleeing to the mountains from doomed Jerusalem or being crushed to earth under the murderous heels of Rome—he [John] sings the dirge of expiring monarchies and dead religions, but the simultaneous birth of a new order, the brightness of a new heaven and a new earth, the ultimate victory of peace and holiness, the descent from heaven of the New Jerusalem, like a bride adorned for her husband. The agonies of the time were but the "woes of the Messiah," the travail throes of the future age. The key to the whole Apocalypse is the often-repeated promise: "The time is at hand," "Behold, I come quickly," "Maranatha," "The Lord is at hand."

The book by its very title is a manifestation of Christ. Christ is not only conceived as "the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world," but as conquering Saviour. A distinct advance is made upon the revelation of Christ given to Paul.

The figure that stood before John as he turned to "see the voice that spoke" to him was resplendent and kingly. He stood in the midst of the "seven golden candlesticks," symbols of the seven representative churches to whom messages were given, with "seven stars in his right hand;" out of his mouth "a two-edged sword" proceeding, symbol of judgment; his countenance "as the sun;" his voice "like as the sound of many waters;" his eyes "as a flame of fire;" clad in the garments of royal power, and saying, "I am the first and the last: he that liveth and was dead; I am alive for evermore." It is the

Christ returning to overthrow his enemies; and in his victory all truth and righteousness, and all who love truth and righteousness, shall participate. John's advance upon Paul's conception is seen in this. The Lamb slain from the foundation of the world for the sins of the world is also the firstborn from the dead, the Ruler of the kings of the earth, the King of kings, and Lord of lords. The Messianic conception of Psa. lxxii, the kingly ideal, and of Isa. liii, the "suffering servant" "dividing the spoil with the strong," is not filled out in New Testament revelation till John adds his inspired conception of Jesus as world-King. "The fullness and certainty of his victory over the world, the glory of his redeemed, and the heavenly city which he has prepared are depicted in glowing and rapturous language which stands quite by itself in the New Testament." "What the seer saw we are enabled to see," says Horton, "and the ultimate triumph of our Lord has been engraven on our hearts as an article of faith by this rich and moving imagery." "To put the answer briefly, the Revelation consists in showing the complete triumph our Lord Jesus Christ achieved in spite of, and even through, the persecutions, trials, and calamities to which his servants and saints are exposed in the present difficult world. Beyond the tumult there is peace. Above the warring states and sovereigns is the great white throne. Before the King of kings all powers and dominions, nay, even the heaven and the earth, must flee away and find no place. It is the pæan of redemption; it is the exultant certitude of a new heaven and a new earth in which dwells righteousness." Thus, while the setting and environment are of contemporary conditions and events, John sees the ultimate issues. Nowhere else, not even in the New Testament, is the vital unity between ethics and religion grasped more clearly than here. Thus, when the seventh angel sounded his trumpet, there were "great voices in heaven, saying, The kingdoms of this world are become the kingdoms of our Lord, and of his Christ; and he shall reign forever and ever. And the four and twenty elders . . . worshiped God, saying, We give thee

thanks, O Lord God Almighty, which art and wast and art to come; because thou hast taken to thee thy great power, and hast reigned."

He sees the victory from afar
By faith he brings it nigh.

Arthur Smith calls this book "the divine parable of history." This seems to me an admirable statement of its purpose. A parable conveys a kernel of eternal principles to the comprehension of the present in a perishable husk of fiction or passing history. We are weary of the "multitude which no man can number" of theories, grotesque as artificial, which have been spun by its ingenious interpreters. Critical scholarship comes to the rescue. 1. The Apocalypse is not a literal prophecy of historical events. We are not to seek for some mystical prophecy of times and men, of nations and political movements, of supernatural prodigies and world catastrophes. What possible significance could such a prophecy have to the people to whom the messages were sent through John if they had related solely to men and events as yet centuries ahead of them? To identify the "beast" as the Roman Catholic Church, or the popes of the Middle Ages, or with any other historical personages of later date, is as absurd as it is uncritical and violent. Such a method throws open the door for all manner of absurdities and fanciful interpretations, as abundantly illustrated in the vagaries that have abounded and still abound in uncritical thought. It is utterly out of analogy with the nature of prophecy, which is never a "sublimated sorcery," but the enunciation of great principles. Such methods as I here refer to have led to such a babel of confusion as to stand self-condemned. 2. The Apocalypse is an enunciation of principles, the "revelation of Jesus Christ." Out of the confusion and blood, the bitter persecution, the martyrdoms, the terrible abandonment of tyrannical powers to all that was evil and cruel, the wars and rumors of wars, till the very sun seemed turned into fire and the moon into blood—out of all these John had visions to see THE CHRIST rising conqueror; the Lamb of God slain from the

foundation of the world, sitting upon the throne of the worlds. And out of the great persecutions, as out of seas of blood, he sees the faithful witnesses coming up with white robes.

Thus rightly understood this book has deepest significance for our own day. If any one truth of Christianity may be said to be the truth of truths for this age it is the REVELATION OF THE ETERNAL CHRIST. The study of the "historical Christ" under the inspiration of the new historical spirit of critical inquiry, that seeks to know the environment in which he lived, to get the true perspective, has led to a new appreciation also of the fact that there is a present Christ, deeply incarnating himself in the deepest life of humanity.

The poets are our greatest seers. And we venture to say no modern poet interprets humanity more profoundly or more truly than Browning. Professor Henry Jones, of St. Andrew's, in a recent work on Browning has said of him, as compared with Wordsworth: "The heavy and weary weight of all this unintelligible world was lightened for Wordsworth only when he was far from the haunts of men and free from the 'dreary intercourse of daily life;' but Browning weaved his song of hope right amidst the wail and woe of man's sin and wretchedness. For Wordsworth 'sensations sweet, felt in the blood and felt along the heart, passed into his purer mind with tranquil restoration,' and issued 'in a serene and blessed mood;' but Browning's poetry is not merely the poetry of the emotions, however sublimated. He starts with the hard, repellent fact, crushes by sheer force of thought its stubborn rind, presses into it, brings forth the truth at its heart. The greatness of Browning's poetry is in its perceptive grip." He speaks, as the poet must, not from the standpoint of dogma but of nature. He finds Christ, the Eternal Son of man, ministering to the deep hunger of man and nourishing the divine within man. The discovery, for such it is, is of deepest significance. It is perhaps as clearly voiced in "Saul" as in any single utterance, but like a pervasive light it illuminates all problems with which he grap-

ics, and Browning has the courage not to shrink from any problem of man's life:

> 'Tis the weakness in strength that I cry for! my flesh that I seek
> In the Godhead! I seek and I find it. O Saul, it shall be
> A Face like my face that receives thee, a Man like to me
> Thou shalt love and be loved by forever; a Hand like this hand
> Shall throw open the gates of new life to thee! See the Christ stand!

Art is neither blind nor silent as to this deep truth. There are two methods by which modern art attempts to portray Christ. The one represented by Zimmerman and Von Uhde paints Christ in an environment of modern life—in German peasant houses, surrounded by German disciples and sitting at meat at a German table. It is an attempt, I think, to conceive of Christ as a contemporary of all ages. Another, represented by Tissot and Le Rolle, studying with conscientious care the archæology of Palestine, attempts to restore the actual conditions that surrounded Christ as he passed through the villages and mingled with the people of that land two thousand years ago. The latter is analogous to the modern method of historical study and paints for us the historic Christ; the former grasps the eternal and the spiritual and brings us face to face with the Christ of humanity. Handel in his "Messiah" has sung the "epic of Redeeming Love" as written in the Scriptures. I think it remains for some writer to conceive the "epic of Redeeming Love" as it is being written in the deep scriptures of humanity. From the standpoint of the religious thinker, Dr. George A. Gordon, of the New South Church, Boston, tells us richly of The Christ of To-day. Professor Fairbairn, of Oxford, has just said, in his *Place of Christ in Modern Theology*, that "the most distinctive and determinative element in modern theology is what we may term a new feeling for Christ." In their own partial way, poetry, art, theology are giving us apocalypses of the Christ.

These are times of mental unrest. The last utterance of soulless and faithless knowledge is agnosticism. The spirit of Christian scholarship is full of inspiration and hopeful-

ness. Whether the subject of inquiry be science or the Bible itself, the substance of Christian faith or the history of the world, faith to-day is full of hope. There is not so much danger that the mind shall be fettered and bound now by tradition and dogma as that it shall have no star and no sun. There comes already looming into vision before the clearest thought of the present, much as before the minds of the prophets of the Old Testament age, the features of One like unto the Son of man. He stands behind history, he holds its secret; he stands above science, the world was made by him; he stands in the midst of the throbbing life of man, he is the divine Saviour. He is "the first and the last, the beginning and the end, the Alpha and Omega." We are beginning to see him, to feel the breath of his Spirit upon us, to recognize that the hand which moves the deep levers of power are pierced hands. "Even so, come, Lord Jesus," and smite thy Spirit into us till we shall bear likeness to the King!

John says the things of which he writes must "shortly come to pass." We do violence to his reiterated declaration of the immediate fulfillment of the things he is foretelling if we arbitrarily assume that he means events ages distant. But the history of his own times, involving as it did the world-wide conflicts of right and wrong, of truth and error, of God and Satan, was a parable of the moral meaning of history that has slowly been written in blood through the centuries and that still remains to be written. This "Apocalypse" is a magnificent example of the victory of faith. Beneath the confusion and seeming chaos John finds the Rock of the Eternal; above the power of heathen emperors he sees the "great white throne;" beyond the tribulation of history he sees the new heavens and the new earth; in the midst of angry voices in strife he hears the songs of the redeemed and the shout of victory and the harmony of heaven. "In the Lord Jehovah is an everlasting rock," says the old prophet. "They that wait upon the Lord shall renew their strength."

It is to be deplored that uncritical methods of interpretation have caused the main purpose and drift of the book to be

largely overlooked. Like the man who went down from Jerusalem to Jericho, it has fallen into the hands of thieves—visionaries—who, without one sound principle to steady them, have woven out of its symbolism all sorts of vagaries and theological hobgoblins, frightening honest people away from the book itself. Aside from a few passages, used without any force derived from their context, the book has usually remained a *terra incognita*. Yet the splendid victory of faith in the heart of the seer himself which it chronicles, the eternal principles involved in his visions, and their vital relation to the progress of God's unfolding purposes in the conflicts of the moral world make it one of the most inspiring, as it is one of the most certainly inspired, books in the canon. Probably no truth is coming home to thoughtful men to-day with greater force than this: the power of personality in human history. This book lifts into prophetic perspective the POWER OF THE SUPREME PERSON.

Albert B. Storrs

Art. X.—THE HEBREW SANCTUARY—WAS IT ONE OR MANIFOLD?

The significance of this question is far-reaching. It presents itself repeatedly to any candid student of Hebrew history; it enters into the interpretation of passage after passage of the historical books of the Old Testament. Its answer will affect in an important degree the inquirer's conception of the national self-consciousness of the Hebrew cult. Did the Hebrews themselves from the earliest times regard their cult as a national or as a local affair? or was their national religious consciousness a product of the exile? A most important contribution to this subject has recently been made by the brilliant and painstaking French scholar, Dr. H. A. Poels, in his treatise on the history of the sanctuary of the ark. Since the startling nature of his investigations is not yet generally known, we state briefly some of his conclusions, in the belief that they are destined sooner or later to gain wide recognition in the field of biblical research.

Many readers of the Old Testament have been struck by the apparent multiplicity of the Hebrew sanctuary, and by the apparent freedom with which even the best men of the nation resorted to the high places of Gibeon, Nob, Mizpah, Gilgal, and others quite as celebrated. How reconcile the existence of these numerous sanctuaries with the supposed unity of the Mosaic religion? But if it could be shown that these names all stand for one and the same sanctuary the difficulty would have been removed. This is in substance the surprising task which Dr. Poels undertakes. A national sanctuary (whose historical character is so evident in later times) could not have originated in the times of the judges—the period of disunion. Therefore to prove its existence in the first years of Samuel would be virtually to establish its Mosaic origin.

The first important passage examined by Dr. Poels is Judges, chapters xix-xxi. He finds throughout this passage

reference to but one sanctuary, namely Beth-el, that is, the "house of God," which was located upon the Mizpah, or hill, of Shiloh. The statement in xx, 18, that the ark was at Beth-el in those days resulted from a misconception on the part of a scribe, who failed to realize that the word "Beth-el" had just been used as a common noun meaning "house of God." The original author of these chapters takes for granted the unity of the official cult; it never occurs to him to explain to his readers that the house of God was the sanctuary of the ark, and that its location was upon the Mizpah, the hill, of Shiloh. Moreover, this passage is undoubtedly of very early origin, and therefore represents the conception of a writer of the earliest times. The sanctuary of the Danites described in Judg. xvii and xviii may be urged as an argument against the exclusive legitimacy of the Shiloh sanctuary; but Dr. Poels after studying this passage arrives at the conclusion that the biblical writer thought of this sanctuary as illegitimate. The mere origin of Micah's image is deemed conclusive evidence on this point. The reference to Shechem as a sanctuary of Jehovah in Josh. xxiv is even more easily disposed of. The Greek and Arabic versions show that here Shechem is a corruption for Shiloh. No other reference to Shechem contains explicit mention of a sanctuary of Jehovah; but at any rate there would naturally be at Shechem a secondary sanctuary for the slaughter of cattle, as in any other village. The sanctuary at Ophrah (Judg. viii, 27) is condemned by the biblical writer as illegitimate. Bochim (Judg. ii, 1-5), where the Israelites offered sacrifice to Jehovah, was merely a stopping place on the march to Shiloh. The passage has been misplaced by the compiler, and the seven and a half tribes reached Bochim *before* the death of Joshua. So that none of these references invalidate the exclusive national character of the Shiloh sanctuary.

The historical reality of the Shiloh sanctuary has been called in question by some scholars because of an apparent discrepancy between 1 Sam. i-iii, which describes the sanctuary as a temple, and the account in Chronicles, which

speaks of it as a tabernacle. Dr. Poels finds that this discrepancy is *only* apparent; for as a matter of fact the different sources are in striking agreement in representing the Shiloh sanctuary as a tabernacle. Thus, we read in 1 Sam. xvii, 54, that David put the armor of Goliath in the "tent," which proves later to be the sanctuary at Nob, whence he afterward recovered the spoil which he had deposited.

A study of the location and history of the sanctuary at Kirjath-jearim is surprisingly interesting. The site of Kirjath-jearim was upon the Judeo-Benjamite frontier, northwest of Jerusalem. It was at the foot of the high mountain, or *gibeah,* known as the hill of Nebi-Samouil. Near the summit of this hill was Gibeon, so that the hill of Gibeon is identical with the hill of Kirjath-jearim. This being true, we shall find no difficulty in the fact that we have no record of any national assemblies at Kirjath-jearim during all the time that the ark remained in that place. Hitherto the apparent neglect of the ark during this period has raised serious questions among scholars as to its historic reality. But every reference in Chronicles shows that the identity of Kirjath-jearim and Gibeon is taken for granted. Gibeon, moreover, was the home of Saul; before the sanctuary of Gibeon the sons of Saul were put to death by the Gibeonites; it was to Gibeon that Ish-bosheth set out upon being proclaimed king, with the purpose of taking possession of the city of his father Saul; finally the inhabitants of Kirjath-jearim were the priests of Gibeon, as is shown by the fact that to them was intrusted the ark after its miraculous return from the Philistines. Thus Zadok and the children of Eleazar came to serve the sanctuary upon the high place of Gibeon at Kirjath-jearim. David also recognized the unity of the national cult, when to conciliate the priestly party of the north he agreed that Gibeon should be left undisturbed as the official religious center until the completion of the temple.

But what of the great national sanctuary at Nob, served by eighty-five priests who had followed the ark thither from Shiloh? Must we conclude that at this time there were two

national sanctuaries, one at Gibeon, the other at Nob? A glance at 1 Sam. xxi will set at rest this difficulty. David has fled from Saul and is in hiding near Ramah. At Ebenezer, the great stone of Gibeon, Jonathan finds him. When they have parted Jonathan comes into the city, that is, Gibeon, while David comes to Nob to Ahimelech the priest of the high place of Gibeon. Evidently the sanctuary is upon the Nob, or high place, outside the city. Here David consults the ephod and recovers the armor of Goliath, which is in the tabernacle behind the ark. Here also he eats of the showbread which is "before the face of Jehovah." The identification of the sanctuaries of Nob and Gibeon is complete.

The Mizpah of the book of Samuel is not the same as the Mizpah of Judges; yet in both places the word is used as a common noun to designate "high place." This is quite evident in 1 Sam. vii, where we read that the ark was at Kirjath-jearim, and that the people prayed to Jehovah. When we learn that this Mizpah was in the immediate neighborhood of Ebenezer we do not hesitate to identify it with the high place of Gibeon. The references to Gilgal as the site of a national sanctuary are quite as easily explained. The word "Gilgal" signifies "mountain," and we have here only a difference in the choice of words by two different writers. Mizpah and Gilgal both refer to the high place of Gibeon.

The conclusion is that in the period of Samuel and Saul the idea of the unity of the official cult was deep in the consciousness of the Hebrews. Since the establishment of the official sanctuary cannot date from the period of the judges, or from Samuel, its Mosaic origin seems certain. This conclusion is not consoling to the radical critics. Wellhausen himself admitted that it was at this point the Grafian system was most open to attack.

Arthur Bumstead.

Art. XI.—LOWELL'S APPRECIATION OF HOWELLS.

Since William Dean Howells has written so appreciatively of Lowell, it may be of interest to recall Lowell's estimate of Howells. Many expressions of the high esteem in which he held the young writer may be found in Lowell's *Letters*.

Soon after making his acquaintance, in August, 1860, Lowell thus kindly advised this aspirant in letters: "Don't print too much and too soon; don't get married in a hurry; read what will make you *think*, not *dream;* hold yourself dear, and more power to your elbow! God bless you!" Then he adds as a postscript, "A man may have ever so much in him, but ever so much depends on how he gets it out." The same month a letter of introduction went to Hawthorne, in which Howells is referred to as a fine young fellow who had written several poems in the *Atlantic*, and this commendation was added: "If my judgment is good for anything, this youth has more in him than any of our younger fellows in the way of rhyme." In December of the same year Lowell wrote Howells a letter full of warm-hearted encouragement, saying that he thinks his poem "really fine" and wishes he will send another, and is glad he is making himself scarce:

> That is not only wise, but worldly-wise too. It gave me great pleasure to make your acquaintance, and to find you a man of sense as well as genius—a rare thing, especially in one so young. Keep fast hold of the one, for it is the clew that will bring you to the door that will open only to the magic password of the other.

While connected with the *North American Review*, July, 1864, Lowell expressed his pleasure on receiving Howells's article on "Recent Italian Comedy," and requested him to write another on "Modern Italian Literature" or anything he likes, and assured him of his good opinion of him and his interest in his genius:

> You have enough in you to do honor to our literature. Keep on cultivating yourself. You know what I thought. You must sweat the Heine out of you as men do mercury. You are as good as

Heine. Remember that. I have been charmed with your Venetian letters in the *Advertiser*. They are admirable, and fill a gap. They make the most careful and picturesque *study* I have ever seen on any part of Italy. They are the thing itself.

In November of the following year Lowell wrote concerning an article in *The Nation*:

I read the article about Pompeii without the least suspicion whose it was, and found it charming. "Why, here is somebody," I said to myself, "who writes about Italy just as I would like to have written if I could." It is altogether good. . . . You are doing just what I should wish you to do. . . . I like your articles as heartily as I could wish.

In a letter of July, 1868, is this commendation of an article in the *North American Review:*

I read your article on Curtis with great pleasure. It is a most delicate piece of writing—as, indeed, I find all that you do. This seemed to me remarkable for its nice turns, even for you.

The letter written to Mr. J. T. Fields, editor of the *Atlantic*, in December of the same year, contains the oft-quoted prophecy of Lowell concerning Howells:

Barring a turn of phrase here and there, I think that as good a thing as you ever printed. It had the uncommon merit of being interesting. That boy will know how to write if he goes on, and then we old fellows will have to look about us. His notice (I suppose it was his) of Longfellow's book was a masterpiece of delicate handling. How fair it was, and yet what a kindly discretion in turning all good points to the light!

The high-water mark of Lowell's praise is found in the letter of September, 1869:

I have a great mind (so strong is the devil in me, despite my years) to give you an awful pang by advising you not to print your essay. It would be a most refined malice, and pure jealousy, after all. I find it delightful, full of those delicate touches which the elect pause over and the multitude find out by and by—the test of good writing and the warrant of a reputation worth having. As Gray said of the romances of Crébillon *fils*, I should like to lie on a sofa all day long and read such essays. You know I would not flatter Neptune for his trident—as indeed who would, that did not

toast his own bread?—but what you write gives me a real pleasure, as it ought; for I have always prized in you the ideal element, not merely in your thought, but in your way of putting it. And one of these days, my boy, you will give us a little volume that we will set on our shelves, with James Howell on one side of him and Charles Lamb on the other—not to keep *him* warm, but for the pleasure *they* will take in rubbing shoulders with him. What do you say to that? It's true, and I hope it will please you to read it as much as it does me to write it. Nobody comes near you in your own line. Your Madonna would make the fortune of any essay—or that pathetic bit there in the graveyard—or your shop of decayed gentilities—or fifty other things. I do not speak of the *tone*, of the light here and shade there that tickle *me*.

From Madrid, May, 1879, Lowell wrote about *The Lady of the Aroostook*:

I read it as it came out in the *Atlantic*, and was always as impatient for more as the French ladies used to be for more *Arabian Nights*. It is delightful, and there was never a slyer bit of satire than your Englishman who loves the real American flavor, while his wife is abolishing herself as hard as she can in a second-hand Anglicism.

In the same letter he tells Howells he is especially interested in him because he always does conscientious work, and that he thinks his new book "especially wholesome and admirable."

Writing from Berkhampstead, England, in reply to Howells's inquiry concerning accepting a college professorship, Lowell advised him in the following self-revelatory manner:

If you are able now, without overworking mind or body, to keep the wolf from the door and to lay by something for a rainy day,... I should refuse the offer, or should hesitate to accept it. If you are a systematic worker, independent of moods, and sure of your genius whenever you want it, there might be no risk in accepting.

Lowell then cites the advantage of a fixed income, yet counterbalances that with the spur to industry a want of income compels. He thinks the greatest inspiration to Shakespeare was the fact that he *had* to write. He then adds humorously:

Your inevitable temptation ... will be to make yourself *learned*—which you haven't the least need to be as an author, (if you only

have me at your elbow to correct your English now and then, naughty boy!) ... I believe the present generation doesn't think I was made for a poet, but I think I could have gone nearer convincing 'em if I had not estranged the Muse by donning a professor's gown.

One recalls a similar opinion expressed by Longfellow, with much pathos, in one of his sonnets. Lowell expressed his pleasure at finding everybody in England reading his friend's books, and added, "You will have to be very fine when you show yourself in England, to look like the portrait I have painted of you, but I am willing to take the venture." In July, 1885, he wrote:

I have been reading your *Silas Lapham* with great interest and admiration. I have generally found romance more interesting and often more true than reality, but I am as weak as Falstaff and can't help liking whatever you do, whatever it may be. This is more your fault than mine, however, for it is sure to be good.

In February of the next year he said of *The Minister's Charge,* "So far 'tis the best yet." In January, 1890, he expressed his indignation at the criticism made on Howells by certain "Chicago ruffians," and consoled him with this assurance: "You are one of the chief honors of our literature, and your praises are dear to us all."

From the very first Lowell's exquisite critical sense enabled him to see what was most promising and to foretell correctly the high rank to be taken by his young friend. What a factor in Howells's success this suggestive and stimulating criticism was let the present appreciations attest. The link binding the past to the present is found in Lowell's last letter to Howells:

How could you doubt that I should like anything you wrote—even about myself? I am, perhaps, less able to judge what you have sent me, because I am less intimate with my own works than with those of other people, but I was altogether pleased that you should have found in them the motive for saying pleasant things about me.

Viola Price Franklin.

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENTS.

NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS.

THE LATEST APOLOGY FOR RENAN.

PROBABLY the best that can ever be said in defense of Ernest Renan is in L. Marillier's recent analytic psychologic study,* the object of which is to persuade the world that those who think of the brilliant Frenchman as chiefly an artist in exquisitely wrought phrases, a past master in dialectics who takes incessant delight in rearing wondrous fabrics of ideas and then destroying them with a breath, misjudge the man; and that, instead of being a rash, frivolous, bantering, and destructive skeptic, Renan was an entirely sincere, cautiously conservative, devoutly reverent, and deeply religious seeker after truth. Some of the claims made for him tax credulity. His nature as portrayed is so full of inconsistencies and contradictions as to constitute a human paradox, improbable, yet not more impossible than Stevenson's Jekyll-Hyde or St. Paul's double man.

Marillier frankly admits Renan's ironical dandyism, his exquisite dilettanteism, his elegant aristocratic reserve and disdain, his surprising flippancy, his propensity to frolic with his own wit for the pleasure of dazzling his own eyes with its glittering facets, his giving way to the commonplace and vulgar ambition to mystify his readers and to display to the astounded Philistines his marvelous and bewildering skill in juggling with ideas, his fondness for trifling with holy matters and frequent raillery directed toward the most revered topics, his failure to discipline his imagination which made him the victim of visions and carried him away on reckless adventures in the boundless realms of thought, and his faithlessness to the pledge he once made to resist his innate skeptical tendency, which, when the truth had been found, made him continue to treat it suspiciously.

Counterbalancing these damaging admissions, we are treated to a long list of noble characteristics said to have been blended in Renan. Predestined to a spiritual life by his incurable and pas-

* *The International Monthly*, Burlington, Vt., November, 1901.

passionate idealism, as well as by his priestly education, he held ideal aims to be alone worthy of human pursuit, and felt a corresponding disdain for those who neither dream, nor think, nor pray—for men of action who have not, like Mary, chosen the better part, but are busied only with making money. His disposition was austere, and he attacked luxury and wealth in terms worthy of a preacher of Christian asceticism, looking with proud scorn upon what is useful and nothing more, and saying that it is because of too great preoccupation with the merely useful that our age is hastening toward mediocrity. He despised worldly people for their indolence and frivolity, and valued the virtues of the wife or the patient toil of the laborer above the idleness of the wealthy or the graces of fair sinners.

We are told that his life was ever serious; that his faith in the divine meaning of the universe was affirmed every moment by his self-renunciation and devotion to the most abstract and exacting duties, sacrificing all temporal satisfactions to his worship of the Ideal; that, knowing that his seriousness of conviction exposed him to the laughter of unbelievers, he was proud of it, calmly saying, "Those who laugh will never rule;" and that his fear and resentment toward clerical despotism were warranted in France, where mediæval ecclesiastical tyranny had long exercised dogmatic control, so arbitrary and intolerant toward freedom of inquiry and opinion as to make him feel that he must leave the Church, not for lack of piety or filial devotion thereto, but because he could not admit the authenticity of the book of Daniel nor ascribe to Isaiah the prophecies of the unknown seer who was the great builder in Israel of spiritual religion.

Among his virtues, it is said, was a deep and delicate respect for love and woman, these being almost the only objects his irony ever spared. Brought up by his mother and his sister, with little girls for his playmates, his feelings became refined and purified by association with them, and in after years their memory, their gentle presence in his soul, preserved him from two masculine defects—coarseness and pedantry. "Those who speak best of love," he said, "are those who have misused it least and have considered it a religious act. Love is the best proof of God. . . . Feminine virtue is one of the providential elements of the world. Woman is intrusted with the Good; the True is scarcely her province: but the proof of morals is far more in the eyes of

the honest maiden than in the arguments of the metaphysicians. . . . Woman puts us into communication with the enduring fountain where God beholds himself."

Renan, says Marillier, could not utter the words Duty, Virtue, Sacrifice, without veneration, feeling a positive conviction that what they express is a thousand times more real than the tangible realities which surround us, and that, even if all else were vanity, it would at least not be vain for us to obey the gentle imperative Voice which we hear in our hearts when our passions are quiet and the tumult of the world subsides into silence about us. He wrote that the inward inspiration which makes us affirm the authority of Duty is a sort of oracle, an infallible utterance that comes from without and above and corresponds with an objective reality. And again he said, "Religion is not a subjective deception of our nature; it answers to an external reality; he who obeys its inspiration is truly and divinely inspired." He held goodness to be the most evident and unquestionable manifestation of the Divine, and virtue to be eager and joyous contribution to the supreme good. Even when his failure to obtain such revelations and proofs of God as he desired threw him into an agnostic mood he could not persist in his agnosticism for an hour. When he had declared something to be unknowable he found he could not get his own consent to remain in ignorance about it, and his mind at once renewed its inquiry. The nature of man, the constitution of the world, and the needs of life are such that agnosticism is far more difficult to maintain than faith is. A settled, stable, unwavering, serene agnosticism is impossible. Renan was forever affirming his belief in things which science could not prove and logic would not lead him to. Certain views he habitually treated as if based on unquestionable proofs, though in their very nature they were undemonstrable to the understanding. He said, "Though we importune the universe with questions to which it does not respond, we may yet hope and affirm what we do not immediately know, and it is wise and right for us to act in all cases as though we were sure that our aspirations are not vain and that our ideal is not a figment of our dreams—this right we may assume *because it is a need of our souls.*" Although in him the master faculty, overpowering all others, is said to have been the intellect, and his ruling passion the passion for knowledge, yet he was a sentimentalist and

outside the realm of positive science and history, arguments of sentiment alone seemed to him to have any value.

Ernest Renan was a believer in the God whom he felt present and living within him, and whom he found diffused throughout the infinite universe; this God he worshiped in tender humility of heart; this God he invoked on his deathbed, as he repeated over to himself the old Hebrew psalms which he loved so well. One stormy day Henry Ward Beecher, walking with a friend on the street, stepped from under the umbrella, stood looking up into the gloomy sky, and, with the rain falling on his face, cried like a beseeching child, "O my Father in heaven, speak to me!" With similar longing, though in not so sweet a spirit, Renan would sometimes cry out, "O God, whom we worship in spite of ourselves, whom we invoke without knowing it a score of times each day, indeed thou art a hidden God." Toward this hidden God, concealed behind the dissolving views of the universe, his prayer mounted with the anguish of a soul pleading for a sign that its long cry of love had been heeded. Sometimes his fretted and impatient spirit ventured to try if entreaty touched with raillery might move the Most High, whom he worshiped, to emerge from the concealment in which He keeps silence. Sometimes, it must be confessed, his petulant raillery bordered on blasphemy and sounded like madness. But Renan's eulogist insists that faith was at the bottom of the blasphemy, for whoso blasphemes against God must at least believe that he is, if not that he is a rewarder of them that diligently seek him. If a man believes the infinite heavens to be occupied only by rigid laws that guide, or impersonal forces that move, the worlds in their courses, he cannot fling any bitter complaint or frenzied accusation against Deity; if he thinks the Ideal which hovers over and haunts him is only a creation of the suffering heart of mankind, an idle subjective vision of beauty to which no reality corresponds, he cannot chide a divine Power for tormenting him with these visions of the unattainable which start insatiable hungers.

Renan's objection to dogma was because of its incapacity to contain the whole of any truth and because it restrains the mind from freedom. A dogma seemed to him a fixed and inflexible thing which one must take and keep exactly as it is or reject it, not as a living thing intended to expand, grow, and develop. In his earlier years under the influence of scholastic theology he

realized the need of giving clear and definite outlines to general ideas, but later, passing from under this influence, he abandoned formulas and fell into indefiniteness, and the expression of his thoughts became vague and misty. Though he had definite principles and convictions, he would not arrange them in any fixed system, but was fond of decomposing and recomposing all systems according to his fancy at the moment. We are told that religion reduced to clear and definite doctrines lost its sway upon his mind, that to seem divine it had to remain obscure—it had to have "what is in the heart of young virgins, the charm of candor, of simplicity, and of mystery, qualities synonymous with distinction, elevation, refinement, moral delicacy." Yet, chary and wary as he was of hard and fast assertions, he was so much of a dogmatist himself that many of his negations were in effect positive affirmations, as when he declared dogmatically against the miraculous, against special supernatural interpositions, and as when he borrowed from Malebranche the unprovable dogmatic affirmation that God never acts by individual means.

Notwithstanding that Renan "experimented in the most diverse mental processes, even those which he disapproved and considered false and dangerous," and in spite of the fact that irreverence, perverseness, and strange caprice characterized the liberties he took with accepted truths and sacred things, we are asked to believe that this man, whose books are a strange mixture of erudition, dialectics, whimsical fancy, flippancy, and frivolity, was a conscientious and upright scholar whom no theory could attract if not in accord with positive facts, that his historical method was inclined to conservatism, and that his mind was, in the domain of criticism, prudent even to the point of timidity!

In his last years of constant suffering this brilliant but erratic scholar hid his bravery under a smile, desiring to be cheerful because so one can enter more deeply into the views of Providence, because cheerfulness is praise offered to God, and because for every man, whatever his faith or want of faith, a cheerful resignation is the most dignified of all possible attitudes in the presence of the mystery of his fate. The aged Renan chided Amiel, whose doubts he did not share, for his pessimism. He regretted having been too severe in his irony toward Béranger's God. In the deepening twilight of a toilsome and austere life he sat serene, we are told, in the consciousness of having striven to obey

the divine Voice which had spoken to him in his far-off childhood and which he heard speaking still as he meditated, old and feeble and weary, among his books.

MAGNIFY THE DIVINE MAJESTY.

TIME was when men feared God too much. But that has long passed. And in the time which now is the pendulum has swung quite to the opposite extreme. Dr. R. W. Dale, of Birmingham, in the closing years of his life, was frequently heard to say, with deep concern, "Nobody is afraid of God now." Perhaps it has not quite come to that yet. But ominous tendencies visibly point that way, and there are many public teachers of high repute doing their best to bring it about. We are distinctly told in portly volumes, by men of orthodox affiliations, that God is to be interpreted solely by his fatherhood, and that "the idea of punishment is essentially barbaric and foreign to all that is known of the Deity." The secular papers of the day never tire of admonishing ministers to tell people only about the mercy of God, and never on any account to appeal to so unworthy and brutalizing a motive as fear. "Men are not to be scared into goodness," they say. Many preachers are of much the same mind as that English vicar who, on being asked what was the staple of his preaching, replied, "Free trade and the pleasant parts of Christianity." A soft, emasculated Gospel suits the itching ears of many congregations, and it is far from fashionable or customary to say anything about so disagreeable a place as hell. In the judgment of large numbers the categorical imperative of Sinai, so indiscriminating and irritating, is much too old-fashioned for these times, much too blunt and stern, and the moral law is considered as merely a rhetorical abstraction to which little attention need be paid in daily life.

These signs of the times indicate, in our opinion, a deep need that we return, partially at least, to the methods of other days, from which we have too far departed. If there is to be anything like a true vision of the living God, the God of nature and the God of Scripture, kept steadily before the eyes of the people; if the divine rule is still to be in any sense a terror to evildoers; if sin is to be regarded as the Bible regards it, with horror and uncompromising condemnation, instead of being glossed over and

excused as an unimportant incident in the development of the soul, a necessary result of heredity and environment—then it will be essential that certain truths, now for a good while neglected, be brought again prominently to the front, and that certain doctrines not at all acceptable to the unregenerate mind be fearlessly proclaimed. What can be worse for a generation than to be habitually fed on fragmentary views of God's character? But that seems to be the case with the men of the present age, and for the most part they love to have it so. A flimsy, flabby God, of invertebrate structure, will inevitably produce human beings in a similarly unstrung and unduly flexible condition; and when there is call for people who have "an excellent spirit," or spine, in them to stand with Gibraltar-like solidity against incoming tides of corruption and demoralization, those that are found of this sort will be too few to save the city. A God who is never to be feared, whose commands can be ignored with impunity, whose law has no penalty, or none that need give people of position any uneasiness, is a God whose influence in the world is very slight and very much to be deplored. Where do people get such an idea of God? This conception of his indiscriminate benevolence, of his unmeasured, interminable goodness, which constitutes their one view of his character and which they roll with such immense satisfaction as an especially sweet morsel under their tongue—where does it come from? Not from Scripture, as can be easily shown by scores of quotations and hundreds of assertions, not merely isolated, ambiguous, figurative texts, but plain declarations imbedded in the very substance of the message and entirely according with the whole trend and scope of the book. Certainly not from the realm of nature, which in these days is being looked into so carefully and has come to be such a very high authority. In that realm men reap precisely what they sow, without the smallest exception or variation. In that realm God is never indifferent to the fulfillment of his commands; he insists on obedience to his laws. The whole current of modern science with its vast discoveries wonderfully emphasizes the fact that the law of God must be kept in the very least and last particular, or extremely serious consequences will inevitably ensue. Men have come to know in these latter days, as never before, that the God of nature is not mocked or trifled with by anybody, and they who want his favor must

obey him; there is no other way. The God of nature sends the hurricane, the earthquake, the volcano, the famine, the pestilence, and these show at least one side of his character—a side which it is foolish to forget. What more childish, more imbecile than to say, "I will accept the God of the flowers and the green grass and the blue sky and the zephyr, but I will not accept the God of the storm and the desert and the glacier and the avalanche"! Science affirms with trumpet tongue the unity of God and the substantial sameness of his administration in all departments. The God of the farm is the God of the home; the God of the garden is the God of the Church; the God of the body is the God of the mind and soul; the God of the great universe, who wheels the planets in their orbits and swings the steady stars through silent space, is the God who paints the butterfly's wing and guides the good man's steps. Hence the uniformity and regularity and stability of nature, since God does not change. And in the realm of morals the same principles must prevail, since the same God governs. He who makes corn to follow corn and wheat to follow wheat in agricultural processes, so that we may infallibly know what to look for when we work, will pursue the same policy in the spiritual sphere, so that we may know what to look for as the outcome of our conduct. He will make gain to follow obedience and loss to follow disobedience just as inexorably as he makes the crop of grain to follow the seed sown. The inspired writers all declare it, and reason amply confirms the assertion.

Those people who persuade themselves that there is no need to fear God, however flagrantly they violate his commands, because, forsooth, he is so good, make a very strange mistake. The truth is that just because he is good he cannot permit the children of men to forget the rightful supremacy of his law; he cannot suffer them to get the idea that he is not particular as to their actions, that it makes no difference in the end to him or to them how they conduct themselves. It would be greatly mistaken kindness on his part if he allowed them for one moment to suppose that in the spiritual realm the harvest would be the same, no matter what seed they should put in. God would not be good if he failed to make a clear distinction in his administration between the righteous and the wicked, if he did not do all he could to encourage virtue and discourage vice, by bringing to

bear the one motive—fear of punishment and hope of reward—that will be likely to have the most effect on a large part of the human race. He who says, "God is good, and therefore not to be feared whatever I may do," is about as rational as the man who says, "The inventor and maker and manager of this mighty steam engine is a good man; therefore the engine cannot hurt me, no matter what I do to it or do with it." Such a one would be torn into small bits and ground to powder, in spite of the perfect goodness of the engineer. So God's goodness, however great, will not protect us from the rightful consequences of disobedience to his laws. This is an elementary proposition; but the prevalent confusion in the public mind seems to render its occasional repetition advisable. The fallacy that God's fatherhood, of which we hear so exceeding much in these days, answers all questions in theology, and is the only test to be applied in every case, appears to have a twofold basis. In the first place, our conceptions of what true fatherhood is are very likely to be a good deal astray. We are very apt to draw our notions of fatherhood from our own faulty and even foolish experience or observation of what earthly fathers do and are, or what we fancy they ought to do and be. The fathers about us at their worst are little better than fiends, and at their best are not proper models on which to construct a complete portraiture of God. They differ, indeed, very much among themselves. The Puritan father and the Parisian father, the African father and the American are not at all alike in their ideas of what a father should be to his children. It is very unsafe to build any doctrine of importance on a mere figure of speech or a vague analogy. There may be a great deal of similarity or resemblance in the relation on the whole, joined with a great deal of unlikeness in particulars, which unlikeness fatally vitiates the reasoning. How can we fail to go wrong if we first take our idea of fatherhood from our fallen, distorted, selfish, unbalanced humanity with all its weaknesses, and then by simply magnifying that image, or even purifying it somewhat, imagine that we have a true and complete picture of the Ruler of the universe? Many people when they speak of God as our Father have before their minds the thought of some one who is constitutionally easy-going and criminally indulgent, good-natured and kind, but not strong or farseeing or well-balanced. The earthly father most attractive and de-

sirable to our purblind eyes is by no means necessarily a true copy of the heavenly Father. What more fatal mistake than to make the character of one a complete guide to the character of the other? It should also be asked by what right does anyone claim that there are no aspects of God's nature which are more effectively expressed by other figures of speech than that of father? Where does anyone get authority for insisting that what cannot be squared with the thought of fatherhood, and with our idea of fatherhood into the bargain, cannot be properly ascribed to God? Not from nature, as we have already noted. Nor yet from the Book. We have the word "father" there, it is true, and right glad we are to have it; but we have many other words just as frequently and clearly. God is called the Judge of all the earth, the King of kings and Lord of lords, the Ruler of nations and of hearts, Creator, Governor, Lawgiver, Sovereign. We are just as much in order when we go to the head of the state for our conception of God's character as when we go to the head of the family. The state is as divine as the family, as much ordained of God, and carries with it as much teaching as to what God is. No phrase was so frequently on the lips of Christ as "the kingdom of God." He speaks in this way, indirectly as well as directly, of God as king quite as often as he speaks of God as father. Can any man, then, who is honest and ready to welcome truth from all sides shut out this kingly aspect of God and insist on confining himself to the fatherly aspect? We see no way. And we insist that the kingly office—the maintenance of order, the enforcement of law, the administration of justice, the seeing that no criminal escapes punishment, and that right doing is honored—legitimately belongs to God. This element must enter largely into all rightful conceptions of his character. He is not simply love; he is holy love. Holiness and righteousness are fundamental elements of his being. He is just, as well as kind. The severity no less than the goodness of God must be taken carefully and constantly into account.

Let people be given distinctly to understand that the love of God does not propose to make everybody happy, but only such as choose to be good; that, indeed, it is not within God's power to make the bad blissful. To attempt this would be to attempt an impossibility, to try to contravene the nature of things. It should be more widely known than it seems to be that this uni-

verse has a constitution impressed upon it by the perfect wisdom of its Maker, which that Maker himself cannot violate. There are laws of righteousness and truth which will not give way before power, which it would be chaos and red ruin to disturb, no matter what the pleadings of pity. It is not improper to say that God is bound by certain laws; in other words, bound by the perfections of his own nature. He is not a ruler who can be capricious, who can follow the dictates or instincts of only one part or side of his being, who can forget his justice in his desire to be merciful. In the nature of things sin must be punished so long as it endures, and the longer it is continued the more likely it is to continue still further; and even after it has stopped there will be the punishment of loss to some extent visited on everyone who has been a sinner, because of that which has been. This solemn truth, as the late Joseph Cook used to point out, appears to make it certain that there will be pain and punishment to some degree in the universe forever. God himself, powerful as he is, cannot make the past not to have been. To all eternity the sinner, however fully forgiven, cannot be precisely the same that he would have been if he had not sinned. There will be forever in the universe a record, irreversible, ineffaceable, of every sin that has been committed in it. There will be forever in the universe regret on the part of all consciences that that sin was committed. God has arranged all things so that no tears, no infinities of divine tenderness, will ever cause that which once has been and ought not to have been to cease to be a part of the record of the past on which he and we must gaze forever with regret. And if regret is pain—how can it be otherwise?—there will be pain in the universe forever. The sin will always be a thing that ought not to have been, and the sinner, however saintly he may have become, will have rays of bliss taken from his future for every sin he ever committed. He will be less a man, less holy, and less happy, than he might have been, than he ought to have been. Who can measure the value of that which is thus deducted? Who can be sure that if there be some pain, some evil, in the infinite beyond, and yet God be good, there may not be much, and yet God be good? It will not be his fault that there is any. It will not be because he has failed to do his best to prevent it and remove it, but because he is helpless in the matter, constricted by the laws which he has wisely

made and by the free will with which he has endowed man. It avails but little to say that God will forgive all who sincerely repent and ask forgiveness. For though this is a glorious fact, and God, moreover, will spare no pains to induce all men to repent, as he is doing every day, what certainty can there be that such penitential asking for pardon will in all cases take place? In spite of all God can do the heart may be hardened, and then God is helpless. He never breaks down the door that is locked against him; he cannot do it. The Quaker poet puts it well:

Though God be good, and free be heaven,
No force divine can love compel;
And, though the song of sins forgiven
May sound through lowest hell,
The sweet persuasion of his voice
Respects thy sanctity of will.
He giveth day: thou hast thy choice
To walk in darkness still.
Forever round the mercy seat
The guiding lights of Love shall burn;
But what if, habit-bound, thy feet
Shall lack the will to turn?
What if thine eye refuse to see,
Thine ear of heaven's free welcome fail,
And thou a willing captive be,
Thyself thy own dark jail?

What Whittier sang—and reason together with natural law and Scripture warning abundantly confirms its truth—Methodism should not fail emphatically to proclaim. It need not, should not, indulge in unauthorized rhetorical exaggerations on the simple facts of assured retribution that appeal so strongly to the consciences of men. It must not go beyond what is written in the book and on the heart. But there is enough so written to be used with tremendous effect. Let people be plainly and lovingly admonished that "Whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap," that "There is a way that seemeth right to a man, but the end thereof are the ways of death," and "He, that being often reproved hardeneth his neck, shall suddenly be destroyed, and that without remedy." Then sin will come to stand out in its native hideousness, its deadly peril, and that fear of the Lord which is the beginning of wisdom, and which men are ever the worse for casting off, shall again assert itself with saving power.

THE ARENA.

THE BOOK OF DANIEL.

THE undersigned has been a student of Daniel since 1866, when he first gave himself to a diligent reading of the Hebrew and Aramaic texts and of the ancient versions; and, so far as time and opportunity allowed, he has for more than thirty years kept himself in touch with the previously existing and the constantly accumulating literature of the subject. He has found few portions of the Holy Scriptures more profitable for devout study, and he here repeats what he has published elsewhere, and uttered time and again, that, "whatever may be the results of scientific criticism touching the date and authorship of the book, the apocalyptic chapters constitute a most original and important body of divine revelation. Whether written during the exile or in the time of the Maccabees, they contain a picture of the kingdoms of the world and their ultimate subjection to the kingdom of God worthy of rank with any prophecies to be found in the Hebrew Scriptures. Nowhere else do we find before the advent of Christ such a magnificent conception of the kingdom of heaven." The issues of modern criticism, however, are not over these facts, but over questions of the date of the composition, the methods of interpretation, and the literary character of the book as one of the "divers portions" (Heb. i, 1) of God's old-time revelations.

The results of my own study compel the opinion that L. W. Munhall's statements touching the prophecy of Daniel (see the "Arena" of November-December, 1901) ought to be followed by a few observations from another point of view. Nine paragraphs of that article purport to give so many chief reasons of the so-called destructive critics for believing as they do. Not one of this whole series of statements, however, would be accepted by the critics referred to as a fair or an intelligible presentation of their reasons. Several of their chief reasons are not mentioned at all, nor even recognized, unless it be in the "few minor objections besides, not worth mentioning." Then follow seven "indisputable evidences that Daniel wrote the book," but not one of the seven is indisputable. For it is a notorious fact that now, after more than a hundred years of persistent disputation, the number of those who dispute and reject these and other alleged evidences "in vindication of Daniel" is immensely greater than at any former time. These evidential arguments are old and threadbare, and have signally failed to convince. One is at a loss to account for so remarkable a conception of "indisputable evidences" unless it arise from a failure to comprehend that one's own individual opinions are not necessarily indubitable truths.

Then the authorities cited in this "'vindication of Daniel" and the estimate put upon some of them are peculiarly suggestive of a dearth

of living witnesses. All the really great Hebrew scholars named in the list belonged to a past generation. Hengstenberg wrote on Daniel in 1831; Hävernick in 1832; Stuart in 1850; Pusey in 1864; etc. These men of acknowledged distinction have not one living successor of like rank. Their chairs are occupied to-day by eminent scholars who discard the view of the book of Daniel for which those men of former time contended, and who were appointed to those chairs not because of any peculiar critical opinions they were known to hold, but because of acknowledged scholarship and learning. Probably nine tenths of all the professors of Semitic learning in Christendom at the present time accept the modern critical views of the Old Testament. What means it that Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible* (1863) is virtually superseded by the encyclopedic biblical dictionaries, now nearly completed, of Hastings and of Cheyne and Black, both of which maintain the Maccabean date of Daniel? What means it that the new edition of Herzog's *Real-Encyklopädie* supplants Delitzsch's article on Daniel (which appeared in 1878) by one from the pen of Franz Buhl, who succeeded Delitzsch at Leipsic, and who holds that Daniel was written in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes? The same volume of the new Herzog also records the fact that the great Franz Delitzsch himself, in his later years, abandoned the views on Daniel as well as on the Pentateuch and on Isaiah, which he had once defended, and placed the composition of Daniel about 168 B. C. In the face of facts like these what shall we think of the unqualified declaration that "the ablest German writers of the progressive school admit that the book of Daniel could not have been written later than B. C. 300"!

Rupprecht is cited with apparent approval as saying that "the modern criticism of Daniel's book is in its spirit unchristian, immoral, and unscientific." But who is this Rupprecht? A German parson, who has indeed written several books in defense of "the imperiled faith," especially as to the "correct solution of the riddle of the Pentateuch." But his writings show that he is the farthest possible from belonging to "the progressive school;" he seems rather to aspire to become a modern Hengstenberg without any of that great giant's caliber or outfit. He has resolved in his wrath that he "will never rest until he has dashed into pieces the infernal magical mirror of modern criticism!" He declares in one passage that this criticism is "the greatest crime of the age," and that its theories are nothing but the "conjectures of nightflies." Such great swelling words and presumptions are so conspicuously Quixotic as to provoke mirth rather than serious conviction in the reader. Rupprecht's publications have been treated as a laughingstock in Germany, and he is bitterly offended because one professor has called him "a theological clown." The name of Zahn also appears in Munhall's article as one of the great defenders of Daniel. But who is this Zahn? Not the great Leipsic professor Theodor Zahn, but Adolph Zahn, a very different style of man, who may best speak here for himself out of the

preface to his *Israelitische und Jüdische Geschichte* (1895): "There are but two gravediggers in Germany to-day, myself and Rupprecht, who have the difficult task of burying the slaughtered army of Gog." The army of Gog is explained as meaning the vast host of modern German critics! One cannot but notice the correspondence in style between these two "gravediggers" of Germany and the article under review, which informs us that D'Envieu, a Roman Catholic professor in Paris, "has answered step by step every assumption, criticism, and argument, linguistic and historical, of the higher critics, ancient and modern, in a comprehensive and satisfactory manner;" and a Professor Kennedy in London "has annihilated [!] Cheyne, Driver, Farrar, and all the imitators of German rationalism." One may, however, be fairly excused from accepting these powerful assertions as indisputable, especially when he notes that the conservative *Expository Times* of Edinburgh dismisses Kennedy's book on Daniel with only a few lines of caustic irony; and also when he reflects that the Roman Catholic defenders of Daniel maintain the genuineness of Bel and the Dragon with the same Romish infallibility that so easily "crushes every argument made by the critics against Daniel being the author of the book bearing his name."

We shall only take further space to add that when this writer in the "Arena" gives us to understand that nonacceptance of his peculiar views in eschatology and in the interpretation of prophecy makes one essentially an assailant of the Church, and puts him in league with Satan against the army of the living God; when he tells us that "of more than three hundred predictions in Daniel's book quite three fourths have been fulfilled to the letter, the great majority of them centuries after they were made"—all this and much more of the same sort—we have only to say that we have not so learned Daniel, or John, or Paul, or Christ. What I understand to be the doctrine of any one of these is for me an end of controversy. But between their teachings and the construction put upon them by some dogmatic literalists one may perceive all the difference there is between light and darkness. I would not say that the unwarrantable assertions of such dogmatizers are "a trick to capture the ignorant and conceited," but I would with all becoming deference submit that their obvious misstatements and extravagance of language are the farthest possible from being indisputable.

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PAGAN NOTIONS IN CHRISTIAN SONG.

To some minds (to many, it is to be hoped) the contribution to the November-December number of the *Methodist Review* entitled "Hymns as Literature" was particularly entertaining. Rich in itself, it was still richer in what it suggested. With its finely discriminating commendations the most thoughtful will heartily agree:

and most of its decidedly frank and refreshing criticisms will, we doubt not, find equal acceptance with the general reader.

In two cases, however, the essayist appears to us to have been too sweeping in his strictures. The first, perhaps, is hardly worth one's while to discuss, as it concerns a production of very little merit, and, fortunately, of very small present favor, even with those who seem most contented with being

Thinly dieted on dew.

One should be just, nevertheless, to ditties, as well as to hymns. And the lines,

O, to be nothing, nothing,
Only to lie at His feet,
A broken and emptied vessel
For the Master's use made meet,

cannot in fairness be separated from those which immediately follow, and which are evidently added to explain, if not to justify, the stanza's apparent extravagance both of phrase and feeling:

Emptied, that he might fill me,
As forth to his service I go,—
Broken, that so unhindered
His love through me might flow.

That is the "verse" in its complete form. Our essayist appears to have been misled in supposing that the author of said lines entertained the "conception that God can most easily fill a *broken* vessel with his Spirit." The second case concerns a production of far different character and history. Our critic does well to term Charles Wesley's

Arise, my soul, arise,

'a noble and impassioned hymn.' Indeed it is; and one may well hesitate to accept the assertion that it "sets forth by implication a view of the atonement which the best thought (even the best conservative thought) of our time has distinctly passed by."

We are not so easily persuaded that, in the boasted development of Christian consciousness, "the best, and even the best conservative, thought of our time," has outgrown the doctrine of the cross—the necessarily mysterious, but ever vital, ever majestic doctrine of the mediatorship of Jesus Christ. Against such a claim we set the recently written word of Bruce, of Glasgow, in his exceptionally penetrative interpretation of the Epistle to the Hebrews: "The sacrifice of Christ, as a spiritual transaction, has an efficacy and value for all time. It is an eternal fact having absolute value with God from everlasting to everlasting. The magic phrase, 'through an eternal Spirit,' lifts us above distinctions of time and place, and makes it possible for us to regard Christ's offering of himself, *in all its stages, as a transaction within the celestial sanctuary.*"

So the Wesleys believed, and so they said and sung; and Methodism, wherever it commands respect, holds strongly to the same soul-moving and soul-winning faith.

It is altogether likely that the author of "Hymns as Literature" is of the same mind. He is wholly right, we think, in declaring that "the thought of one part of the Godhead arguing with another part and finally persuading the reluctant and all but implacable Deity to an act of clemency is repugnant to the intellectual temper of our day;" and we agree with him in holding that "the hymnody which is the vehicle of false or narrow conceptions of our Father in heaven cannot prove an addition to literature." His error is in placing *this particular hymn* in such a category.

Taken as a whole (and it is manifestly unfair to judge it piecemeal), it is a glorious expression of the love of God toward the penitent; and multitudes of humble, earnest souls still find in it their spiritual autobiography.

But it cannot be denied that there are hymns, in hymnals no older than our own, which are sadly defective in form, if not in sense, and even more sadly deficient in Christian sentiment.

In particular stanzas, at least, not a few of them are strikingly pagan. Confining our investigations to our own excellent Methodist Hymnal, let us see what ground there is for supporting such a charge. In the limited space which "The Arena" allows we can only indicate the line of thought which we would seek to follow. What is lacking in elaboration the reader must supply. Notice, first, the last stanza of hymn number 3:

> To-day attend his voice,
> Nor dare provoke his rod;

what a cheerful call to worship that is! Contrast it with the second stanza of the 14th hymn:

> The Lord is just, a helper tried;
> Mercy is ever at his side;
> His kingly crown is holiness;
> *His scepter, pity in distress.*

See, also, the third stanza of hymn 380:

> Justly might thy vengeful dart
> Pierce this bleeding, broken heart;
> Justly might thy kindled ire
> Send me to eternal fire.

The "vengeful dart" recalls the line,

> Lets the lifted thunder drop—

an expression which, alike in rhyme and reason and religion, does rudest wrong to one of the tenderest and most beautiful of Charles Wesley's hymns.

Contrast these with John Wesley's translation of Johann A. Rothe's lovely lines:

Father, thine everlasting grace
Our scanty thought surpasses far:
Thy heart still melts with tenderness;
Thine arms of love still open are,
Returning sinners to receive,
That mercy they may taste, and live.

After entertaining, gratefully, such a conception of the grace and love of God one reads with scant patience the poor poetry and poorer theology of the fourth stanza of hymn 369:

Perhaps he will admit my plea,
Perhaps will hear my prayer;
But if I perish, I will pray,
And perish only there.

Where was Dr. B. when this doggerel was sprung on the Hymnal Committee? Fancy Bishop FitzGerald preluding an Ocean Grove altar service with such an emasculated specimen of camp meeting psalmody! There is no "perhaps" in the case. The Saviour's promise is as clear as the sun, and as sure as the throne of God: "Him that cometh unto me, *I will in no wise cast out.*"

But one of the most tedious examples which can be cited is found in hymn 146, a composition of seven stanzas, all of which, excepting the first two, are about as bad as Watts could make them.

Part of thy name divinely stands
On all thy creatures writ;
They show the labor of thy hands
Or impress of thy feet;

But when we view thy strange design
To save rebellious worms,
Where vengeance and compassion join
In their divinest forms;

Here the whole Deity is known,
Nor dares a creature guess
Which of the glories brighter shone,
The justice or the grace.

Think of picking out that hymn for the New York Preachers' Meeting! But if not suitable for such an assemblage, for what other assortment of "rebellious worms" would it be especially appropriate?

It is possible that, in his varied and voluminous versification, Charles Wesley may have matched this example of songful senility on several occasions; but the only instance we can now recall is contained in the third stanza of the 16th hymn:

In his great name alone
All excellences meet,
Who sits upon the throne,
And shall forever sit.

After reading Watts and Wesley in these effusions one is prepared for the early appearance of a higher critic of hymnology

who will make it perfectly clear (to himself) that Watts never wrote

When I survey the wondrous cross,

nor Charles Wesley

Jesus, Lover of my soul.

Though of little practical account, it may serve to further illustrate our theme to notice what free use our Hymnal makes of thunder and lightning:

He shakes the heavens with loud alarms;
How terrible is God in arms!

Again:

Thunder and hail, and fire and storms,
The troops of his command,
Appear in all your dreadful forms,
And speak his awful hand.

A far finer strain, the following:

His chariots of wrath the deep thunder-clouds form,
And dark is his path on the wings of the storm.

That, to some minds, we are sure, will recall the admirable lines of Sternhold:

The Lord descended from above,
And bowed the heavens most high,
And underneath his feet he cast
The darkness of the sky.

On cherubim and seraphim
Full royally he rode,
And on the wings of mighty winds
Came flying all abroad.

It would seem that H. Kirke White attempted to soar to the same level when he sung:

His voice sublime is heard afar;
In distant peals it dies;
He yokes the whirlwind to his car,
And sweeps the howling skies.

In conclusion, we predict that some one reading this hastily written article will gird on the armor and presently present himself in "The Arena" to prove that there is warrant in Holy Writ for every line that we have criticised.

Conceded. But that is not conclusive against our position and protest. On the other hand, it tends to strengthen our case. For much of the poetry (and something of the theology) of the Old Testament is colored, naturally and inevitably, by the surrounding atmosphere of pagan ideas and ideals through which Israel struggled upward toward the vision of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ.

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THE ITINERANTS' CLUB.

HOMILY ON THE ELEVENTH CHAPTER OF ST. JOHN—THE STORY OF LAZARUS AND HIS SISTERS.

No more touching incident can be found in the whole realm of sacred literature than the story of Lazarus and his sisters, as narrated in the eleventh chapter of St. John's gospel. The whole story bears the marks of reality. It is so thoroughly natural, abounds in incidental matters which could not have been invented by the writer, and has a freshness which has not been dimmed by the lapse of centuries. We read it as though it were an incident of to-day, going straight to our hearts and abounding in consolation for the afflicted and bereaved in all lands and under all conditions. It is the history of the relation of Christ to Lazarus and his sisters. Why it should have been narrated by John only is a matter of conjecture and need not be considered. We only concern ourselves with the fact.

The revelation of the chapter for us is that of Jesus as a friend. Lazarus seems to have been well known from the fact that he is called "Lazarus of Bethany." The sacred writer proceeds to describe Mary with a single touch, as if she was perfectly familiar to those to whom he wrote. Lazarus, it is said, was sick. In the third verse it is said that the "sisters sent unto him, saying, Lord, behold, he whom thou lovest is sick." The word rendered "love" is not the same as that found in the fifth verse, but is a word of tenderer affection and has its application in the more intimate relationships of life, such as brother, sister, husband, wife. The statement of the sisters, therefore, was that the personal friend of Jesus, Lazarus, was sick. This is a beautiful unfolding of the character of our Lord. He seems to have had this friend Lazarus to whom he could communicate freely his secret thoughts and aspirations, his hopes and fears, his joys and his sorrows. Our curiosity would lead us to inquire what passed between these personal friends, what they said to one another in the intimate associations of the family at Bethany, but, with the wise reserve so characteristic of the Scriptures, "our eyes are holden" that we cannot enter this sacred sphere of the personal friendship of our Lord with Lazarus. But that such was his relation is clear.

This passage shows Christ as a friend of the family to which Lazarus belonged. He was not only the friend of Lazarus, but the friend of the family. We are told that when Lazarus became sick the sisters at once sent to him, telling him of it. How thoroughly natural this was. How many families there are in which this is the case—when a member of a household becomes sick the first thing they do is to send for a family friend. He may be afar off. The language of the next verse is, "Now Jesus loved Martha, and her

sister, and Lazarus." As already indicated, the word implies esteem and affection. The relation of Christ to Lazarus was more personal than that with his sisters, and hence the language is that he held in high esteem and regard the whole family. How true this is to life One is a personal friend to a member of a family, and to all the other members of the family there is a relation of mutual esteem. This is what we call family friendship. Christ must have often visited this home, gone in and out most familiarly. We recall, all of us, how a family friend goes in and out at pleasure. How often Christ in the midst of toils and burdens must have turned aside to the family at Bethany, and talked over all his affairs with the little circle where he was acquainted and where he was held in high esteem. He has thus sanctified the homes of the world with his sympathy, which is as true to-day and as real as it was when in personal presence he went up and down among the families of humanity.

The chapter reveals Christ to us also as a discriminating and faithful friend. He recognizes in the sickness of Lazarus not only an opportunity to serve the family, but an opportunity also to glorify God. "This sickness," he said, "is not unto death, but for the glory of God, that the Son of God might be glorified thereby." And we are told further that "when he had heard therefore that he was sick, he abode two days still in the same place where he was." He recognizes his personal friendship as closely related to his great mission in the world. He does not tell the purpose of his remaining two days before he went to visit the family. It seems to us, however, that it clearly has to do with his purpose to demonstrate the reality of his mission, and thus bring glory to God. In other words, he recognized all the circumstances of the afflicted family, and adapted his movements to secure the highest results, not only for them, but for the world which he came to redeem. When he proposed to go into Judea he said to his disciples, "Our friend Lazarus is fallen asleep; but I go, that I may wake him out of sleep." To this the disciples answer, "Lord, if he sleep, he shall do well." "Now Jesus spake of his death: but they thought that he had spoken of taking rest in sleep. Then said Jesus unto them plainly, Lazarus is dead. And I am glad for your sakes that I was not there, to the intent ye may believe; nevertheless let us go unto him." We see throughout that those words indicate the discrimination and fidelity of Jesus. A faithful friend is one who can be relied upon. He never flatters. He who flatters you to please you is not your friend. Jesus, in the whole narrative, shows himself as bearing the attitude of absolute truth toward the whole circle, alike in his remaining a while before visiting the family, in his conversation with the disciples, and when he came to the family.

He reveals himself also, in his relation to Lazarus, as a sympathetic friend. On his approach to Bethany he is first met by Martha who pours out her tale in sorrow and says, "Lord, if thou hadst been here, my brother had not died." After a time Mary comes and makes

a similar statement. Their hearts were broken. It is the old story of sisters mourning a brother, which has been repeated over and over again in the history of the world. The answer to each of the sisters was, "Thy brother shall rise again." They could not enter into the profound meaning of his words. They thought only of some dim resurrection in the future state; but that he could come to them and help them in that time of their sadness did not occur to them. His wonderful words, "I am the resurrection, and the life: he that believeth in me, though he were dead, yet shall he live: and whosoever liveth and believeth in me shall never die," have entered into the ritual of the Church and contain a great truth not for that time alone, but for all the periods of human history. He came to comfort the sisters and he did it, but before his full comfort came he showed the sympathy of his nature. "When Jesus saw Mary weeping, and the Jews also weeping which came with her, he groaned in the spirit, and was troubled, and said, Where have ye laid him? They say unto him, Lord, come and see. Jesus wept." We need not speculate here concerning the fact that it was his purpose to raise Lazarus to life. We see in the passage Jesus weeping with the sorrowing sisters and weeping friends. He mingled his tears with theirs. How thoroughly human it is. The incident is as fresh to us as though we were at the funeral of a friend to-day: the same expressions of sadness, the same inquiry concerning where the departed one is, the same tears in the case of the afflicted ones communicating their influence to the family friend, Jesus, who has come to help them. The Jews were astonished, and said, "Behold how he loved him!" His sympathies are just as fresh to-day as they were then. He still stands by the side of every sick bed. He is still near every newly made grave. His sympathies still go to bereaved friends to-day as they did when these precious words were written.

This narrative of Christ and Lazarus reveals Christ to us as a powerful friend. We desire friends that are able to help us; not only that would help us if they could, but that can do so if we need their help. Such a friend was Jesus to Mary and Martha. The passage contains the most remarkable incident aside from the resurrection of the Lord himself to be found in the New Testament. We now see why he delayed. It was that the case of the death of Lazarus might be a clear one. Martha informed the Master that her brother had been dead four days. There can be no explanation of this passage from any historical standpoint which involves a mere semblance of death. The whole point of the narrative in the mind of the writer was that Lazarus was actually dead. Jesus had already said to them, from his divine knowledge, "Lazarus is dead." He is now assured by the sisters that he had been dead four days. Having lifted up his eyes to the Father and said, "Father, I thank thee that thou hast heard me," he stood at the grave and "cried with a loud voice, Lazarus, come forth. And he that was dead came forth, bound hand and foot with graveclothes: and his face was bound about with

a napkin. Jesus saith unto them, Loose him, and let him go. Many therefore of the Jews believed on him." Here we have an absolute miracle of the raising of a dead man to life. It was anticipatory of his own self-resurrection afterward, for he that could raise another from the dead himself had power to rise. Jesus, the friend of the family, showed his power as a friend by raising the brother of Mary and Martha from the dead. With a wise and sacred reserve, no information is given us about the subsequent history of Lazarus. The fact only is stated. It would be interesting to inquire into the profounder questions that gather around this chapter, but for the present purpose the relation of Christ is to Lazarus as a personal friend of Lazarus and of the family at Bethany.

He that said, "I am the resurrection, and the life," is still the life of his people. The same conditions are ever recurring: sickness and death are the heritage of humanity. Friendship is a great bond which binds millions of hearts together. "What a Friend we have in Jesus!" Who so personal in his friendship as he? He comes to our hearts individually. What a family friend Jesus is! How families to-day send for him, as Martha and Mary did, knowing that in his own good time he will come and give them the cheer they need. Who so wise and discriminating in his friendship? Who so faithful and true? What friend so powerful? He who can raise the dead to life can do everything that his people need.

CATECHISM OF MINISTERIAL COURTESY.—II.

A FURTHER question of ministerial courtesy is this: What courtesies are due from a pastor toward ministers of the Gospel who are resident in his parish, and who, when not engaged in services elsewhere, are properly parts of his congregation?

It frequently occurs that a pastor is appointed to a church in which there are one or more ministers of the Gospel who regularly attend his church, but are not formally members of it. These may be superannuated or supernumerary preachers, editors, secretaries, or professors in institutions of learning. This is one of the cases where so much depends upon local circumstances and the persons themselves that definite suggestions are exceedingly difficult to give. When there is but one such person in the congregation the case is very simple; but when there are several the case sometimes becomes complex. That there are mutual relations of courtesy in such conditions should not be overlooked.

Ministers thus associated with the congregation will not fail to recognize the fact that they are not the pastor of the church. It is easy for such persons to think that if they were in charge of the church they would do things quite differently from the way in which the pastor meets his obligations. This is quite natural; but they should remember that the pastor, who is responsible for the administration of the church, must determine his own policy. A

ministerial brother who is a member of the congregation should not, as a rule, give advice to the pastor unless asked to do so. Of course, this does not imply that there should not be such friendly intercourse between the pastor and the ministers that attend his church that he and they will feel at liberty to consider the best methods of carrying forward the work of God. The fact that they are all Christian gentlemen, having a common aim, will naturally produce this result. They are, further, to be examples to the people in extending to the pastor all the courtesies that belong to his position. As in their Church relations he is their ecclesiastical superior, they should give full recognition of his pastoral office, as well as their hearty cooperation in his work.

There is a tendency in churches to hear their own pastor, rather than some stranger, whoever he may be. The writer has known cases where congregations objected to frequently hearing even brilliant preachers, because they thought that it was the duty of their pastor to supply the pulpit. This is a point at which the pastor and his ministerial parishioners need have no misunderstanding. Certainly, they will not prefer to be called upon to take part in the services unless they are needed. Courtesy for courtesy's sake is sometimes distasteful to those to whom it is extended. The principle which we may lay down in this case is that courtesy should be so spontaneous as not to betray intention on the part of either. The recognition of the rights and relative responsibilities of each is, in general, a sufficient law to govern all cases that may arise; and the further principle to be thought of is that no one should ever take offense, even should he be confident that offense is intended, which is an impossible supposition; and then, indeed, it would be wiser to overlook it in the spirit of a true Christianity.

In this relation, however, there is another subject of importance, namely, how far a resident minister should usurp the prerogatives of the pastor in the performance of ecclesiastical functions in his congregation. There are many things that he may do as a resident of the community which do not involve the assumption of pastoral functions. He may visit the sick, bury the dead, perform the marriage ceremony or the ordinance of baptism, when the circumstances of the case seem to warrant it; but never when it affects the legitimate relations of pastor and people. Before performing such services he should communicate with the pastor, and thus prevent any appearance even of discourtesy.

It is very difficult to lay down rules governing such perplexing cases, and perhaps the writer has ventured on an impossible task in attempting to make any observations on it; yet in most of the other cases that may arise between man and his brother-man the law of our Lord, "Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them," will be found sufficient, without any additional regulations.

ARCHÆOLOGY AND BIBLICAL RESEARCH.

DISCOVERIES AT SUSA.

Susa, written "Shushan" in our Bibles, one of the ancient capitals of Elam, or, to be more definite, the winter residence of the Achæmenian rulers of Persia, is mentioned in three books of the Old Testament. It was to Shushan, the palace, that Daniel was transported in a vision, which is most vividly recorded in the eighth chapter of the book bearing his name. It was from this great capital that Nehemiah, who played so important a rôle at the beginning of the postexilic period, started on his memorable mission to Jerusalem, in order to defend and encourage his suffering and disheartened countrymen (Neh. i, 1). It was at Shushan that Esther, the beautiful queen, was enabled to render such valuable services to her people and to prevent a universal massacre (Esth. i, 1 ff.). No one can read the incidental references to the palace at Shushan, in the first chapter of Esther, without being fully convinced of the wealth, luxury, and magnificence of the Persian court. Here we read that the great banqueting hall was fitted up with its hangings of white, green, and blue cloth, fastened with cords of fine linen and purple to silver rings and pillars of marble. Here are mentioned couches of gold or silver, upon a pavement of porphyry and white marble, and alabaster and stone of blue color, as well as drinking vessels of gold (Esth. i, 6, 7). The classic writers bear similar testimony to the power and opulence of this ancient city. "Here," says Herodotus, "the great king resides, and here are his treasures of wealth. If you take this city you may boldly contend with Jupiter in wealth."

Susa was located in a large plain, drained by the rivers Kerkhah (Choaspes), Dizful, and Karun, the Ulai of Daniel (viii, 2, 6), and the Eulæus of the Roman writers, some thirty-five miles east of the Tigris and about one hundred miles north of the Persian Gulf, or, to be more exact, in latitude 32° 10′ north, and longitude 48° 26′ east. The plain, being of alluvial origin, was noted for its fertility, and well adapted for the maintenance of a dense population. Its proximity to the hills made Susa a more desirable place of residence than Babylon or Nineveh. The origin of Susa is lost in the prehistoric ages. The country of which it became the capital is mentioned on some very ancient monuments. Perhaps the earliest monumental reference to Elam and the Elamites is that on a very archaic stele, now preserved in the British Museum (about 4500 B. C.), on which we read that the governor of Lagash (modern Tello) subjected Elam and its immediate neighbors. We learn from another inscription that a certain Elamite king, Kudurnankhundi by name, a mighty con-

queror, made incursions into the Chaldean territory about 2285 B. C., destroying everything before him, burning cities and temples, and robbing them of their treasures. In an inscription of Asshurbanipal, written about 650 B. C., we read that the statue of the goddess Nanâ, removed from Erech in Babylonia, by Kudurnankhundi to his own capital at Susa, was brought back 1635 years later by the Assyrian king. Elam is the country over which Chedorlaomer, the great warrior king mentioned in the fourteenth chapter of Genesis, ruled. The Greek historians say that Susa was an important city at the time when the Trojan war broke out.

The following hymn, probably written by a priest of Nanâ, lamenting the loss of the image, shows clearly in what high regard the goddess was held by the people of Erech. It runs thus:

"Until when, O, lady, shall the impious enemy ravage the country! In thy queen city, Uruk, the destruction is accomplished; in Eulbar, the temple of thy oracle, blood has flowed like water; upon the whole of thy lands has he poured out flame, and it is spread abroad like smoke. O, lady, verily it is hard for me to bend under the yoke of misfortune! O, lady, thou hast wrapped me about; thou hast plunged me into sorrow! The impious mighty one has broken me in pieces like a reed, and I know not what to resolve. I trust not in myself; like a bed of reeds, I sigh day and night! I, thy servant, I bow myself before thee!"

The brief references to Susa in the Bible and classic writers are abundantly supplemented by the cuneiform inscriptions, and the incidental mention of wealth and magnificence is fully corroborated by the following inscription, relating the exploits of Asshurbanipal, who conquered Elam and burned down Susa, its capital, about 650 B. C. This inscription is of such great value that we can do no better than to copy it in full:

"I conquered Shushan, the great city, the dwelling of their gods. . . . By the command of Ashur and Ishtar I entered into the palace, and sojourned there with joy. I opened their treasuries, in which gold, silver, and other possessions were stored, which the ancient kings of Elam and the kings who have reigned there up to this day collected and placed there, on which no other enemy besides me had laid his hand. I brought it out and accounted it as my booty. Silver, gold, and other possessions, the property of Babylonia, which the earlier kings of Elam had carried away in seven expeditions, and brought to Elam . . . jewels, a costly treasure, such as beseemed the royal dignity, which former kings of Babylonia had sent to Elam to make alliance with its kings; garments such as beseemed the royal dignity; weapons of war; furniture, which had been brought into the palaces, upon which the kings had sat and laid down, out of which they had eaten and drunk, poured libations and anointed themselves; chariots and wagons; horses with bridles of gold or silver—all this I carried away as booty to Assyria. The temple tower of Shushan, faced with

alabaster, I destroyed. . . . Their gods and goddesses, with their treasures, their possessions, their vessels, their priests, I carried away to Assyria. Thirty-two statues of kings, of silver, gold, bronze, and stone . . . I took with me to Assyria."

The first man in modern times to make any important discoveries among the ruins of Susa, which are now called Shush, or Sus, was Mr. Kennet Loftus, an English gentleman, appointed by his government to settle the boundary line between the Turkish and Persian territories. When he came to Sus the name as well as the extensive mounds very naturally attracted his attention, and at once suggested to his mind the Shushan of the Bible. This was in 1852. Loftus and his workmen excavated the larger of the two principal mounds and succeeded in unearthing not only a number of inscribed bricks having upon them the names of several Elamite kings from 720 to 620 B. C., but also the foundation of a large building, which is now known to have been an *apadâna*, or the state hall of the Persian kings. Mr. Loftus discovered on the bases of four pillars a most important inscription, written in three languages—Babylonian, Susian, and Persian. The text of this inscription, as given by Eretts, is as follows:

"Thus says Artaxerxes, the great king of all the countries that are upon this earth, the son of Darius the king, who was the son of Artaxerxes the king, who was the son of Xerxes the king, who was the son of Darius the king, who was the son of Hystaspis, the Achæmenid. My ancestor Darius built this *apadâna* in former times. In the reign of Artaxerxes, my grandfather, it was consumed by fire. By the grace of Ahuramazda, Anaïtis, and Mithras I have restored this *apadâna*. May Ahuramazda, Anaïtis, and Mithras protect me from all evil; and may they preserve from destruction this that I have built."

It is generally agreed that this *apadâna* was first built by Darius Hystaspis (521-485 B. C.), that it was partially destroyed by fire sometime during the reign of Artaxerxes Longimanus (464-425 B. C.), and again fully restored by Artaxerxes Mnemon (406-3[illegible] B. C.).

Very unfortunately, the work so auspiciously inaugurated by Loftus in 1852, owing to the ignorance and superstition of the natives, was not allowed to continue long. The ignorant populace suspected him of having designs upon the tomb of the prophet Daniel buried, according to tradition, at Shushan. Shortly after the departure of Loftus the cholera broke out among the people about Shush. This was regarded as a direct punishment from God upon the natives, for having suffered the infidels to desecrate sacred places.

It was more than a generation later before a pick was lifted for the purpose of unearthing the treasures concealed at Susa. On the first day of March, 1885, M. Marcel Dieulafoy, a French architect, commenced excavations where Loftus had left off. He found great difficulty and opposition to his work, for the Mohammedans were

still fearful that he might defile the sacred shrine in which were deposited the bones of Daniel. They even suspected that he might steal the remains and "transport the palladium of the district" to some Christian country. A mob of six hundred people assembled, ready, if not to massacre the foreigners, at least to expel them. Gradually, however, the natives became quieter, and the French party, under the immediate protection of Shah Nasr ed-din, was allowed to prosecute its work for two consecutive seasons (1885-86). The principal discoveries were made in the larger mound, which Dieulafoy designates as the third mound. This was the same one that Loftus had dug into. The *apadâna*, or the extensive hall, used for royal receptions, banquets, and, possibly, for dispensing justice, was a most magnificent building, supported by thirty-six richly carved and fluted columns.

The latest excavations in Susa have been made by M. de Morgan, a distinguished French archæologist, famous for his wonderful discoveries in Egypt. He has already made known some of his discoveries at Susa in his *Memoires de la Delegation en Perse*, which gives an account of the excavations during the years 1897 to 1899. De Morgan pursued the modern methods of excavation, and by means of shafts and tunnels he has been able to show that the old city of Susa, like Tel-el-Hesy, or Lachish in Palestine, was destroyed and rebuilt several times. Had he pursued the same method at Susa as Bliss did at Lachish results might have been different. Bliss removed a large part of the mound at Lachish; De Morgan simply made trenches and tunnels at various depths in the accumulated *débris* at ancient Susa. But the two trenches and the five tunnels in the latter place disclosed clearly several stages of civilization. The lowest tunnel, some one hundred and fourteen feet below the surface, was on a level with the virgin soil. Some thirty-five feet above this alluvial deposit another tunnel brought to light handmade pottery which was rudely decorated. Another tunnel, ten feet nearer the surface, revealed pottery and some rude flint weapons and implements. The next tunnel, also about ten feet farther from the base, showed evidence of a conflagration. About thirteen feet from the surface of the mound several bricks, inscribed with the names of Elamite kings, and a few sculptures of early rulers were unearthed. Mr. Boscawen, in an article published in *Biblia*, argues that these excavations demonstrate that everything below the fifth tunnel antedates the historic age. There is no trace of writing even in this fifth stratum. Now, if writing were general in the fifth millennium before our era, what antiquity must be assigned to the four strata or cities prior to the fifth? It is further asserted that primitive weapons and archaic objects discovered in the lower strata at Susa are more ancient than anything yet found in Egypt or Babylonia. If these conclusions are correct Susa is the oldest city so far explored, and possesses a "series of records extending throughout the historic ages far into the obscure regions of the prehistoric."

FOREIGN OUTLOOK.

SOME LEADERS OF THOUGHT.

Fritz Barth. There are few thoughtful students of theology today who do not recognize the difficulties connected with the life and works of Jesus. Barth has given us a study of the principal ones in his book entitled *Die Hauptprobleme des Lebens Jesu. Eine geschichtliche Untersuchung* (The Chief Problems in the Life of Jesus. An Historical Investigation), Gütersloh, C. Bertelsmann, 1899. He is, on the whole, quite conservative in his opinions, although he will not be acceptable to extremists in either direction. While disposed to give all reasonable credence to the contents of the synoptic gospels, he does not believe that any one of them was written by an apostle or an eyewitness. On the other hand, he regards the fourth gospel as the work of John the apostle. In treating of the burning question of the relation of Jesus to the Old Testament he proceeds upon the correct theory that Jesus did not look upon it from the standpoint of a theologian, but from that of a devout reader, and that he regarded it as the record of the self-revelation of God. He does not think that we should be troubled by evidence that Jesus did not always quote the Old Testament correctly, or that he accepted the traditional opinions of the time concerning the authors of the sacred books. Jesus treated the Scripture not from the standpoint of one who took its teachings at second hand, but as one who had experienced what he saw in its documents. Barth thinks that Jesus regarded much that was in the Old Testament as being not the express will of God, adapted to all men and all ages, but as given out of consideration for the ethical unripeness of those who were to receive it. Under the head of the miracles Barth does not discuss their possibility so much as their actuality, in which he believes, though he would not call them miracles, but wonders. He thinks they are the result of forces possessed by Jesus which transcend the physical. Coming to the prophecies of Jesus relative to his second coming, Barth regards them as referring to the time of the destruction of Jerusalem, and explains their nonfulfillment on the theory that prophecies are conditional, and that in case of repentance on the part of man they have not always been fulfilled. Unfortunately, there is in this instance no evidence of repentance on man's part which might have acted as a hindrance to the coming of Christ. This Barth seems to have overlooked. His discussion of the resurrection of Jesus is also somewhat unsatisfactory. He regards it as the miracle of life as triumphant over death, and says that our impression of Jesus as a whole does not depend upon the clearness with which we conceive the facts of the first Easter morning. As to other points, he declares, against some recent writers, that it was the ori-

real plan of Jesus to be the Messiah. He thinks the virgin birth not well founded, but that the preexistence is a fact. This writer holds the average views of present-day German theologians.

Wilhelm Herrmann. When a great thinker, such as Herrmann, gives his views of ethics the whole thinking world is ready to listen. This he has done in his recent book entitled *Ethik* (Ethics), Tübingen, J. C. B. Mohr, 1901. According to him Christian ethics is to find not only to describe the ethical requirements of Christianity, but especially to show why these requirements spring necessarily out of the Christian faith. Man, in attempting to lead the ethical life, finds himself hemmed in by certain limitations, and these Christianity helps us to understand and overcome. The characteristic fact of the moral life is a certain unitary tendency or disposition, and this cannot be attained by one who, following the instincts of nature, strives after some highest good. It is not a correct procedure to deduce ethical ideas from something extrinsic; but we must recognize the moral life and conduct which one finds at hand and get our ethical ideas from these. Each one begins his ethical life by contact with human beings who are already ethically alive. Through the impression of such a human being in whom we can have confidence there arises an inner movement which is distinguishable from all purely natural life. In the attempt to find the basis for this confidence in others we become aware of the moral law which at the same time appears as valid. This moral law is that we should desire spiritual fellowship with others and yet should be truly independent. The end of the ethical life is the realization of a communion of truly independent spirits. This law demands of us self-denial, that is, the subjugation of the natural instincts, impulses, and relationships. For this we need freedom, which appears to us in every ethical act as a great miracle. The recognition of this miracle compels us to take a world view which breaks through the principles of purely natural knowledge. The consciousness of moral duty is always found accompanied by the sense of guilt, that is, of a disposition contrary to the ethical ideal. So we come to the feeling that we must be thoroughly changed. Out of this internal difficulty we can be saved only by trust in Jesus Christ, who is to us a revelation of God. Through the impression made on us by Jesus Christ a living, joyous faith is awakened by which we become aware of the forgiveness of sin and are made partakers of a new life. In this faith we become actually capable of the requisite self-denial and experience the necessary inner change. Through Christ also comes the power to distinguish the good and the perfect in conduct. This Christian-ethical life must unfold itself in the world; and gratitude for the redeeming love of God in Christ prompts the Christian to manifest his love to others and to become a witness of the redeeming power of God. This brief survey of Herrmann's views shows that they are well worthy of attention.

RECENT THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE.

Evangelisationsfragen, in lutherischem Sinne erwogen (Questions Pertaining to Evangelization Considered in the Light of Lutheranism). By Theodor Hardeland. Leipzig, A. Deichert Nachf., 1899. Here Methodists can learn what a considerable portion of the Germans think of Methodism. By Methodism, however, the Germans do not mean merely the system of doctrine and practice followed by the denomination called Methodist, but all that theory of the religious life which proceeds on the principle that the great masses of the people need awakening and converting, in such a sense that they shall know when, or at least in what general period of their lives, it occurred. To the Germans the Baptists, Presbyterians, and Congregationalists are all of the Methodistic type. In order to understand this book it is necessary to know that its author is a pastor whose absolute criterion is the doctrine of Lutheranism as held in the seventeenth century. This doctrine, to his mind, is that of the Scriptures. He believes in the *opus operatum* in infant baptism and the Lord's Supper. It is a sin to belong to a Reformed as distinguished from a Lutheran Church, just as it is a sin to belong to the Roman Catholic Church. With these presuppositions in his mind he goes about the task of writing this book, whose first section is devoted to Methodism and related phenomena. Methodism, he says, is a specifically English product. In English Christianity we find a union of the Reformed with the Roman Catholic principles, and since these two are in essence one Methodism is a manifestation of the Reformed Church which he so bitterly dislikes. Everything which caricatures Christianity, either in Methodism or the Salvation Army, is the natural result of the Reformed doctrine. The idea of the "society" is Pietistic; but Pietism is itself of Reformed extraction. The "society" professes to be something especial and apart, and has a separatistic tendency, and the whole movement looking forward to the formation of "societies" within the Church for mutual religious aid is Reformed, not Lutheran, and hence to be condemned. It is perfectly evident that Hardeland wrote not only from the standpoint of his old Lutheranism, but also out of his prejudices, and perhaps out of his pride and pessimism. For when he comes to the later portions of the book, and has forgotten the red rag of Methodism, and is speaking of the actual needs of the German people, he finds that the very things that the Methodists do are the things that need to be done; that is, the multitude of the baptized in Germany are not awakened and converted, but they need to be, and in such a way as that they will know when it took place. In other words, it needs to be done, but the Methodists are Reformed because they do it. The suggestion as to the author's pride and pessimism springs from the fact that elsewhere in his book he declares that to preach genuine Christianity to the masses is to cast pearls before swine, and that but few of the masses can be saved.

Das Mosaische Strafrecht in seiner geschichtlichen Entwicklung (Mosaic Penal Law in its Historical Development). By Gerhard Förster. Leipzig, Veit und Co., 1900. The book is a dissertation written as a part of the requirements for the doctor's degree at Leipzig University, and selected by the faculty of law as worthy of publication. Some of the theories of the book are, to say the least, interesting. He holds that among the ancient Israelites there was a time when every man avenged the wrongs done him as best he could; in other words, there was no common law, and the community did not undertake to interfere in the individual's affairs. This lawless revenge was later sanctioned by public action, and was then no longer lawless, except that each individual was left to himself to execute such penalty as he desired or could. But along with this legalized private revenge there soon went the limitation of the penalty to exact retribution, such as an eye for an eye. But as soon as the community began to regulate the revenge taken the whole community became involved in the punishment inflicted. In order, therefore, to preserve peace within the community, the guilty one was expelled from the community, so that the penalty, when inflicted, did not affect a member of the community. As illustrations of such expulsion he gives the exclusion of Adam and Eve from paradise, the curse on Cain, and the giving over of Israel by Jahweh to their enemies. It was a farther step toward civilization when penance, or outward expressions of penitence, was permitted to take the place of the ordinary revenge. It first appeared in the form of an attempt to turn away the anger of the injured party. In communities where the revenge was sanctioned the penance might take the form of a money payment, which was then regulated by law. Since not only man, but also Jahweh, avenged injuries, the law of penance came to apply not only between man and man, but also between Jahweh and man. Sacrifices were intended to turn away the anger of Jahweh. But as long as there was only private revenge and private penance there was no sufficient guarantee of public safety. Consequently the community, more and more, took the punishment of offenders into its control, and gradually the oracles by which such public action was governed became divine laws of a more or less general character, so that at length every violation of a commandment or rule of action came to be regarded as an offense against Jahweh to be punished by the community as Jahweh's representative. Of the truth of much of the foregoing it is impossible to judge. The theory is at least ingeniously worked out; but when he makes the sin of Adam and Eve to consist in theft he certainly lets his imagination run riot, as well as also in many other parts of the book.

RELIGIOUS AND EDUCATIONAL.

Religious Orders and the Roman Catholic Episcopate. Official statistics show that about one fourth of all the bishops of the Roman

Catholic Church, that is, about 325 out of the whole number of 1,264, belong to the various orders. It will be interesting to see how they are distributed. The Antonians have 1, the Basilians 2, the Benedictines 9, the Cistercians 1, the Premonstrants 1, the Hermits of St. Augustine 10, the Barefoot Carmelites 4, the Christian School Brethren 2, the Dominicans 11, the Franciscans 21, the Capucines 11, the Jesuits 8, the Lazarists 6, the Marists 3, the Passionists 2, the Oblates of St. Francis de Sales in Annecy 2, the Oblates of Mary 6, the Oratorians 5, the Priests of the Precious Blood 2, the Priests of the Sacred Cross 1, the Priests of the Holy Sacrament 1, the Redemptorists 4. Besides these, 15 of the above congregations have 94 apostolic vicars, and 6 others 19 apostolic vicars in mission districts, all in the episcopacy. From the orders there are also 42 suffragan bishops and bishops engaged in the ecclesiastical government in Rome. In addition, several missionary societies, whose constitutions make them to all intents and purposes orders, have in the episcopacy 12 residential and 46 titular bishops. Large as these figures are, they are smaller than might have been expected considering the vast influence that some of the orders, particularly the Jesuits, exert in the affairs of the Roman Catholic Church.

The Growth of Social Democracy in Germany. One of the speakers at the recent Evangelical Social Congress in Braunschweig brought out some interesting statistics. In order to fully understand these figures it is necessary to remember that in 1878 a severe law against the socialists went into operation, and that in 1890 it expired.

Year.	Vote.	Per Cent of Growth.
1871	113,000	
1874	351,000	211
1877	493,000	40
1878	437,000	decrease 11
1881	312,000	" 29
1884	550,000	76
1887	763,000	39
1890	1,427,000	80
1893	1,783,000	25
1898	2,113,000	27

These figures show that excepting at first the socialist law did not check the growth of socialism, and that since 1890 the growth has been comparatively slow. We question, however, whether the law had as much to do with it as other influences. When great masses of people are considered enthusiasm waxes and wanes in all departments of life. There is only a certain portion of the laboring classes that can be won for so radical a movement, and the growth may be expected to be slow henceforth. The worst feature of the law was its tendency to strengthen, by reaction, the anarchistic spirit among those against whom it was directed.

SUMMARY OF THE REVIEWS AND MAGAZINES.

THE *International Monthly* (Burlington, Vt.) for October, 1901, is filled with attractive articles, the first being on "The New Poetry of France," by Gustave Lanson. It says that when Victor Hugo, in 1885, died amid an apotheosis, it seemed as if French poetry had gone with him; and, in the lengthening songless years, some cursed the age of science in which poetry could not live. But a new generation of poets has arisen with original talent for producing works of real value if not of the first order. When things were at their worst the new school was born of a reaction. Men wearied of science; naturalism with its ally, the Parnassian poetry, palled upon the taste; idealism sprang up once more; the soul became the fashion; lyric poetry became the vibration of the soul in contact with fundamental problems of the universe and of life; the Romanticists grouped themselves around eternal ideas—God and nature, love and death, humanity and progress; the Symbolists reestablished the reign of the soul and installed its subjective affirmations in poetry once more. Poets and thinkers, hearing the winds of mystery pouring forth from the heart of phenomena, moved toward light and life; they let the simple and sumptuous law of Forms and eternal Emotions sing itself in their work; they strove to give in vast syntheses, according to the strength of their minds and their heart's good faith, a melodious and luminous explanation of the mysteries. The new poetry recognizes the aspect of eternity in the fleeting moment; in that moment the soul tastes the essential savor distilled from limitless experiences. The new poet presents the problems of life in vibrations of awe, not in discussions, and his philosophy is in solution in the waves which surge up from the bottom of his soul. Verlaine's "Sagesse" is the "journal of a penitent soul; it is the crisis of the conversion of the sinner, the song of the soul, both bruised and joyful before the life whose mystery a ray of God has illumined." Baudelaire is called "an exasperated pessimist, absorbed in the culture of an abnormal sensibility;" while Verlaine is said to be "largely the representative of religious humanity, eternally torn between God who commands and the flesh which refuses to obey." French poetry since Chateaubriand had been sad. "Materialists, spiritualists, and Christians had cried out against the wounds, betrayals, and wickedness of human life. With Leconte de Lisle, Ackermann, and Richepin, pessimism had been installed as lord. To condemn God and curse nature seemed the function of poetry. But the new poetry held that Art should be one with Joy, and this was sufficient to dispel the aspirations for Nirvana, the apostrophes to nature as a cruel stepmother, and the rhetoric of blasphemous pessimism. Though still sad, poetry was no longer bitter and desperate, except among certain Belgians

with an imagination deeply tinctured with Catholicism." As Charles Morice says of Art, so one may say of Religion: "She will touch Science with her foot in order to feel the certainty of a solid foundation, and then with a bound she will leap up on the wings of Intuition." An article on "Art and Artists," by the capable hand of John La Farge, tells of the peculiar methods and habits of composers, painters, and poets—how conversation helped Cimarosa, and Zingarelli began with serious reading, and Haydn worked steadily at his table at just so much of his task each day, and Beethoven worked as the spirit moved him anywhere and anyhow and under great difficulties. Beethoven toward life's end said, "I sit down and think—nothing comes, I am afraid to begin; however, when once I have begun all goes right." Mozart wrote, "When I am alone my soul is calm, satisfied, as for example, when traveling in a carriage, or taking a walk, or lying awake at night—then come the ideas to my mind. To say whence they come, or why, would be impossible; it is certain I cannot make them come when I wish." What Delacroix says of the artist is true of the preacher—easy execution must be preceded by laborious preparation. Public work which seems to be produced as a flower blooms is the result of secret toil. These are the words of Delacroix: "To improvise, that is to say, to begin and end at the same time, to satisfy one's imagination and one's reflection at the same moment, in the same breath—that would be for a mortal to speak the language of the Gods. Talent hides its efforts. What we call the improvisation of the painter seems to be by the momentary fire of execution, without hesitation; but without the carefully made sketch beforehand, and especially without the outline or preparation carefully aimed at the final achievement, such a thing would be impossible, even to an artist like Tintoretto, the most fiery of painters in execution, and to Rubens himself." The carefully wrought outline, the thoroughly studied sketch, prepare the extempore speaker for successful logical argument or for fiery, impassioned, and impetuous delivery. In various ways the preacher, striving ever for an unreached perfection, can sympathize with the artist. Beethoven, near life's end, replied sincerely to the praise of an admirer, "What I have done is nothing—far greater visions float before my mind."

The November number of the *International* opens with an article on "Ernest Renan and the Soul of the Celt," by L. Marillier, translated from the French by C. H. C. Wright. The idea hinted in the title is that there were in Renan two men, ancestrally derived, a Breton and a Gascon, the alternating dominance of the two natures accounting for the apparent contradictions in his mind, temperament, tastes, and principles of life. But Celtic blood coursed the more abundantly in his veins, and gave ideality, fondness for romance, and passionate sentiment. We are told that as a young man he lived solely in his ideas, and with a frenzied belief in truth, loyal to his masters who had taught him something infinitely better than cri-

ticism or philosophical acumen, even love of truth, respect for reason, and the seriousness of life. He also heard in his heart ancestral voices of that humble clan of husbandmen and of sailors from whom he had imbibed faith in the invisible, and to whom he owed "the preservation of his vigor of soul in an age without hope." Renan's eulogist says that he had high respect for the past, all that was very old seemed to him by that fact most august. He was a bold innovator only in the realm of ideas, which was ever to him in some degree a world of dreams. In the moral sphere it seemed to him wisest to tread the path in which our ancestors trod. "Many excellent things in intellectual matters are young in the world," he wrote, "but it is not so in the moral order. In morals the old is the true." This moral truth seemed to him solid and impregnable. He said: "Necessary truths are above any attack. Humanity will listen to us only in so far as our systems coincide with its instincts and duties." We are asked to believe that under all his irony and flippancy was reverence and seriousness, that in his secret heart he worshiped the Most High at whom he sometimes railed for His silence and seeming indifference, that he knew it to be the most absolute absurdity for a man to be angry with God, and that, in spite of his admiration for positive science, he never acquired the demeanor of a positivist but even felt in his heart a deep faith in the ideal and loudly proclaimed its reality. He attached the greatest value and most serious importance to all speculations upon the essence of things, the nature of the Divine, and the destiny of man. From his books might be gathered materials for a sort of Creed of the Critical School. Of his critical work which seemed to a large extent destructive, he said: "I have criticised all, and, whatever may be said to the contrary, I have maintained everything. I have done more service to the good by concealing nothing of the truth than I should do by wrapping my thoughts in those hypocritical disguises which deceive no one. Our criticism has done more for the preservation of Religion than all apologies." Spite of his critical propensities he was more romantic than scientific, more a poet than a historian; and his *Life of Jesus* was not so much an exact history as Renan's own dream put upon the landscapes of Galilee. Speaking of the Celtic peoples, Marillier says: "Initiative is rare among them, as is that desire to affirm one's self by one's acts which finds its fullest expression in Ibsen's plays. They do not display great aptitude for action. The Celt is not very capable of the sustained and methodical labor of the German, or the burning activity of the American, or the conquering tenacity of the Englishman, merely for the sake of becoming more rich and more powerful; still less is he inclined to act for the sake of action—often he has a sort of physical indolence and heaviness of action. (Physical activity was always distasteful and almost painful to Renan.) He needs to be excited by some passion in order to work and struggle with all his heart, and very often this passion is, in a way, an impersonal one and always of a

religious aspect, even when it has not God for its direct object." When we read that the Celt is willing to leave the world of fact to other races, preferring, for himself, to live in the world of dreams, filled with the countless creations of his fancy, we begin to comprehend how Renan, the Celt, came to write such a book as the *Vie de Jésus*, so woven of history and of dreams that it is difficult to tell what proportion is from the veracious narrating evangelists and what from the romancing Renan, who could not distinguish his visions from reality.

Professor Sayce, of Oxford University, in *The Critical Review* (London) for November, 1901, expresses his opinion of Dr. R. W. Rogers's *History of Babylonia and Assyria* as follows: "Professor Rogers's handsome volumes meet a want that has been often expressed. Hitherto there has been no systematic and detailed account in English of the way in which the cuneiform inscriptions came to be deciphered. What are the foundations upon which the vast superstructure of cuneiform decipherment has been built? and what certainty have we that the foundations are secure? are two questions that are often asked. But there was no English work in which they were satisfactorily answered. No writer had undertaken the task of examining the whole mass of literature in which the history of the decipherment is contained, of throwing the results into orderly shape, and so tracing the successive steps in the process of discovery. The work has now been accomplished by Professor Rogers once for all. And a most interesting story it is. From first to last the history of the interpretation of the cuneiform inscriptions is one of the romances of archæology. From the days when the Italian traveler Pietro della Valle first published some of the strange characters found among the ruins of Persepolis and pointed out that they must be read from left to right, down to the time when system after system of cuneiform writing and language after language embodied in it have been deciphered and read, there has been a steady, if slow, progress, clew leading to clew, and one discovery opening the way to another. No link in the chain of evidence has been wanting, and each link has been well tested before it has been accepted for use. And yet the whole system of decipherment began with a fortunate guess of Grotefend, who was a classical and not an oriental scholar. Certain groups of characters in what was believed to be the Persian transcript of the cuneiform inscriptions of Persepolis were identified by him with the names of Darius and Xerxes, and the guess, which was really based on a combination of historical knowledge and common sense, turned out to be right. But many years passed before the labors of various scholars in Germany, France, England, and elsewhere succeeded in determining the whole of the Persian cuneiform alphabet as well as the grammar and vocabulary of the texts written in it. When this was at last done the transcripts of the same texts in what proved to be the languages of

Assyria and Babylonia were attacked, and with the help of the monuments that had just been unearthed at Nineveh the inscriptions of Assyria and Babylonia were patiently deciphered. How this has further led to the discovery and decipherment of the extinct languages of primitive Babylonia and Armenia—the so-called Sumerian and Vannic—the very existence of which was previously unknown, must be read in the pages of Professor Rogers's volumes. Professor Rogers, however, has not confined himself to the history of cuneiform decipherment. It is doubtless this part of his work which will have the most abiding interest and value, as it has been done so thoroughly as to leave no room for its being done over again. But it merely forms an introduction to an account of what monumental research has told us up to the present of the ancient history of Babylonia and Assyria. Stock is taken, as it were, of our existing knowledge on the subject, and, after a brief description of recent explorations, the chronology and history of the old kingdoms of the Tigris and Euphrates are discussed in detail. Professor Rogers possesses a first-hand acquaintance with the incriptions; he has also read and weighed carefully all that has been written about them by Assyriologists, so far as it bears upon history, and he has spent several years in examining and comparing the theories of the latter. Above all, he is cautious in accepting evidence, and is blessed with a large share of common sense, which is as necessary in science as in the affairs of daily life."

A CLEAR, comprehensive, and judicious review of "English Theistic Thought at the Close of the Nineteenth Century," by Professor Benjamin L. Hobson, of McCormick Theological Seminary, fills fifty pages of the *Presbyterian and Reformed Review* (Philadelphia), October, 1901. The article treats, in three divisions, of the epistemology, the genesiology, and the ontology of theism, and shows a wide mastery of the literature of the subject. We have room only for this quotation from Professor Orr: "Religion is not an arbitrary product of the soul. Even in the lowest and poorest religions we see something struggling into consciousness—a want, a desire, a need—which is not measured by the extent of its actual knowledge of the Divine. Religion we might define from this point of view as the search of the soul for an adequate spiritual object to rest in, combined with the consciousness that there is such an object, and with the impulse to seek after it, and when found to surrender itself to it." And the following from John Fiske: "Now in all ages and in every form of religion the theory has comprised three essential elements: first, belief in Deity as quasi-human; secondly, belief in an Unseen World in which human beings continue to exist after death; thirdly, recognition of the ethical aspects of human life as related in a special and intimate sense to this Unseen World. These three elements are alike indispensable. If any one of the three be taken away, the remnant cannot properly be called religion."

BOOK NOTICES.

RELIGION, THEOLOGY, AND BIBLICAL LITERATURE.

Spiritual Lessons from the Brownings. By AMORY H. BRADFORD, D.D., Author of *Spirit and Life, Heredity and Christian Problems, The Growing Revelation*, etc. 12mo, pp. 38. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell & Co. Price, cloth, ornamental, 35 cents.

In this little book Dr. Bradford emphasizes two or three of the many spiritual lessons taught by the Brownings, of whom, he says, the husband was a profoundly mystical theologian, and the wife was an intensely practical preacher. Of the lessons from Robert Browning one is about "Revelation and Life," and the other about "Half Truths and The Truth." The lesson from Elizabeth Barrett Browning is on "The Secret of Service." The truth which inspires, which is the result of vision rather than of reasoning, usually finds poetic expression. The Hebrew prophets were all sublime poets, and most great poets have been profoundly religious. Dante, Milton, Wordsworth, Tennyson, the Brownings, and Whittier were all in a true sense prophets—voices for the Spirit to speak through. The music of love to God and man never rang more clearly than in the songs of Whittier; no teacher has spoken more deeply of immortal spirit life than Tennyson; the apostle John was scarcely more nobly and intensely mystical than Robert Browning; and no prophetess was ever more evidently filled with a holy and divine passion than Mrs. Browning. Both the lessons taken by Dr. Bradford from Mr. Browning are from the poem entitled "Cleon," which is called an echo from Paul's sermon on Mars' Hill. If God is, he should be known by us who have desire and faculty for knowing him; but if men are to know him, he must reveal himself. Man's feeling is that if there be a God he must reveal himself if it be possible. This feeling is manifest in that teaching concerning all religions which Dr. George Matheson, the blind poet-preacher of Scotland, says is the characteristic of all religions. Cleon, who is a supposed Greek philosopher writing a letter to his king, seems dimly to anticipate the incarnation in Jesus Christ, for he tells how he has often had a vision of some God descending once for all to show

> The worth, both absolute and relative,
> Of all his children from the birth of time.

Browning teaches that the "desire of all nations" became reality in Jesus Christ—the supreme and only adequate disclosure of Deity in terms of human life. The idea of a Deity revealing himself is in Homer's poems and in the hymns of the Vedas. To this almost universal expectancy Christ comes and is recognized as God. No one by searching could find out God, but Browning teaches that there is something in

all men, a capacity for recognizing the Divine when it is manifested. We know God's work when we see it. The stars are his work; the cathedral and its frescoes are man's. There is no difficulty in distinguishing between the flowers which are from God's hand and the wax flowers made by human fingers. Man can recognize the signs of the divine presence and working; and sees them in Christ. The next point is that without revelation man is almost as ignorant of himself as he is about God. Before a man can know himself he must be permitted to see the plan according to which he was made; he must learn what he was intended to be, and what he may become. Well, Jesus is the ideal man; he shows us God's idea of manhood; he is our pattern. In him we see what God is and what man may be purified and glorified into when, having submitted himself to Christ, he is at last presented faultless before the presence of the Father's glory. Furthermore, Cleon, Browning's pagan, dreamed of a God who would use men as instruments with which to do his work; and that dream is the dim expression of a vague longing in the heart of man to be moved by the divine Spirit for some worthy result. And this Spirit in its fullness has entered into humanity through the Christian revelation, and works to manifold results. It filled Chinese Gordon and inspired him to his heroic and sublime life; it moved Abraham Lincoln and Alexander of Russia to emancipate millions of slaves; it helped Raphael to paint the Transfiguration and his Madonnas, and Fra Angelico and Murillo their saints and angels. The Spirit which inspired John to write the Apocalypse was in some measure in Milton when he wrote "Paradise Lost," and inspired Coleridge's "Hymn before Sunrise in the Vale of Chamouni," and Wordsworth's "Ode to Immortality," and Browning's "Cleon" and "Epistle of Karshish." Cleon's dream has come true; men are "God's instruments for all appointed work." When God wants better dwellings for the London poor he uses Octavia Hill and John Ruskin to start the movement. When the time has come to send the noblest life of the universities into the slums of Whitechapel, Mulberry Bend, and Hell's Kitchen, God moves Arnold Tornbee and a host of others after him who have had a real glimpse of the method by which the holy city is to come down out of heaven from God. In Manhattan once two men, named Riis and Roosevelt, "caught on" to God's plan and worked at it, grimly but gladly, to some good and lasting results. Men, as God's instruments, are to reform evils, preach the Holy Gospel, cleanse away sin, and enlighten and save mankind, soul by soul. The Bible foretells a time when God shall wipe away all tears and bind up broken hearts. He is doing that beautiful work here and now, but mostly by human hands and through the sympathy of loving and Christlike hearts. The Word of Life will be carried everywhere, Christian brotherhood will banish cruel selfishness, hope will drive despair into outer darkness, saints will carry the devil captive at their will and destroy his works when Cleon's dream is fully realized and God's earthly children

are "His instruments for all appointed work." This is the first lesson from Browning's "Cleon," which is a kind of echo of John's words about the *Word* made flesh and dwelling among men, full of grace and truth. The other lesson from "Cleon" sounds like an echo from Paul's sermon on Mars' Hill. That sermon began by noticing the altar inscription "To an unknown god," and frankly recognizing that Athenian paganism had a half-truth. Next the sermon revealed the God whom the eager Greeks surmised but did not know. Cleon, in Browning's poem, also had a half-truth, which was that man's spirit longs for immortality, feels he was made for it, and that death ought not to be the end. But Cleon has no assurance that there is to be any satisfaction for this longing. The Athenians confessed their sense of God and longing to know him; Cleon confessed his sense of immortality, and his longing to be assured of it; and both are more miserable than beasts can be, because they lack the knowledge and assurance which they crave, and which are given only in the Gospel preached by Paul. Cleon might have written Herrick's quaint lines:

> We feel through all this fleshly dress
> Bright shoots of everlastingness.

But man, who longs to survive, appears to perish, and this seems so horrible to Cleon and so fills life with sadness, that he sometimes dares to think there *must be some future state*, "unlimited in capability for joy, as this is in desire for that joy which our joy-hunger forces us to seek." But this poor, yearning pagan closes hopelessly, "Alas! God has not revealed it, and he must have done so were such future possible." At the very time when Cleon was closing his reasoning in despair the Gospel of another and a better life was being preached in Cleon's own little land by Paul, of whom it seems Cleon had heard some rumor and far-off report. But Cleon could not think a Jew, a circumcised barbarian, as Paul was to Greek pride and prejudice, could possibly have access to a secret that was shut from Attic philosophers. He felt that it would be wronging his philosophy if he should stoop to inquire of such an one, as if his answer could have any import. He has heard of Paul and Christ, and that certain slaves are preaching them; but he does not deign to take instruction from such sources. If only Cleon had been humbler, more open-minded to new truth, if he had been willing to listen to those "slaves" and that "barbarian Jew," he might have found peace and a full solution of his soul's awful problem. The truths traced by Dr. Bradford in Mr. Browning's "Cleon" find expression also in Mrs. Browning's poems, though in a different way. The husband was speculative and philosophical; the wife was intense and practical. He wrote as one who had a mystery to be solved; she as one who discerned the only way in which difficulty could be overcome: but both saw that only the revelation of God in terms of humanity in Christ Jesus throws any light on human problems. Leigh Hunt called

her "Tennyson's sister." Some one else called her "Shakespeare's daughter." To be these and Robert Browning's wife besides is to be the most eminent of women in the world of literature. And this woman was a prophetess and missionary of the Christian evangel. She wrote to Leigh Hunt: "I believe in the divinity of Christ in the intensest sense, that he was God absolutely." The longest of her poems, "Aurora Leigh," is at once a novel, a social study, and a glorious hymn to pure love. Taine calls it the greatest long poem in the English language. To that we cannot agree after knowing "The Ring and the Book." "Aurora Leigh" is a study of social wrongs and miseries. Mrs. Browning's prescription for the solution of social problems is in these words:

> Fewer programs, we who have no prescience.
> Fewer systems, we who are held and do not hold.
> Less mapping out of masses to be saved,
> By nations or by sexes. Fourier's void,
> And Comte is absurd,—and Cabet puerile.
> Subsist no rules of life outside of life,
> No perfect manners without Christian souls:
> The Christ himself had been no Lawgiver
> Unless he had given the life, too, with the law.

Her teaching concerning the methods of reaching and uplifting the depraved and outcast are but her elaboration of a detail taken from the second chapter of Hebrews. "The man most man, with tenderest human hands, works best for men, as God in Nazareth," she says. The epistle to the Hebrews says, "It behooved him in all things to be made like unto his brethren." Jesus shows us, in a human form, the perfect pattern of what man must be when God possesses him. God is love, and when he infills and possesses men they have a hand for friendless, ragged children, as Guthrie had; a head full of devices for the outcast poor, as Shaftesbury had; a consuming desire for the emancipation of slaves, as Wilberforce had; a heart breaking for all who are in sin, as Wesley had. What an admonition to those who magnify unduly culture and refinement and the arts that polish life, is in Mrs. Browning's one line, "No perfect manners without Christian souls." And how fit for every one of us to adopt and forever repeat, are her acknowledgment of the divine patience and her appeal to Christ for help:

> Alas, long-suffering and most patient God,
> Thou needest to be surelier God to bear with us
> Than even to have made us. Thou who hast thyself
> Endured this fleshhood, knowing how, as a soaked
> And sucking vesture, it would drag us down
> And choke us in the melancholy deep,
> Sustain me, that with thee I walk these waves,
> Breathe me upward, thou for me
> Aspiring, thou who art truth, and way, and life,
> That no truth henceforth seem indifferent,
> No way to truth laborious, and no life,
> Not even this I live, intolerable.

The Incarnation is credible in presence of the sorrows and sufferings of humanity. Elizabeth Barrett Browning could not even imagine a Deity who would not reveal himself to his children crying in the darkness to know "wherefore they were born." And Dr. Bradford truly says that skeptics who approach this solemn and transcendent subject from the side of speculation would reach Mrs. Browning's conclusion if they would approach it, as she does, from the side of human need.

Unto Heights Heroic. A Biblical Interpretation. By GARDNER S. ELDRIDGE. 12mo, pp. 186. New York: Eaton & Mains. Cincinnati: Jennings & Pye. Price, cloth, 75 cents.

A book which has wings and eyes, flight and vision. It is the offspring of a man's soul, born, not made. The writer of it never thought within himself, "Go to! I will make a book to the end that I may hear myself referred to as an author." An inward urgency impels, and he seems as one who does but sing because he must. What he says of Deuteronomy and Moses might be said of this book and its author, "The book is just throbbing with the man, and the man is at his best." Other words of the author which we might use as descriptive of his own volume are: "This is the great value of books—not what they say, but what they suggest, where they lead. A book is a fragment struggling for completion. And that struggle, coupled with the character of the goal, is its pith and power." How this book came to be may be read between the lines in the following confession: "Life is not an impression, but an expression; something to be given, not gotten. We are not paupers begging our way through the world, whining when stones are given for bread. We are princes strewing our pathway with the largess of the soul. It was at this very point that life took on a new meaning to the author, that turned the world from 'vanity' into substance. 'Cast thy bread upon the waters.' Do you want a better world to live in? Make it better. Cast forth what is in you, and earth, and sea, and sky shall change their hue. 'Sow thy seed in the morning, and slack not thy hand in the evening; and the light shall be sweet to thee.' 'When the clouds are full of rain they empty it upon the earth.' That is the divine order: when things are full they overflow and create a new wealth along their path—trees and grass and flowers. Pour out what is in thee and see if the flowers will not spring up all about thee with their fragrance and beauty." Of like spirit are these words: "It is often and truly said that the great proof of the inspiration of the Bible is that it inspires. Yet, like most epigrams, the phrase will bear some qualification. There are other books that inspire us; inspire us with great thoughts, with true morals, with love of beauty. But at the heart of the Bible there is something more than morals, truth, or beauty. There is a divine Personality. The power of the Bible is more than inspirational, it is redeeming; it redeems us from self-centered individualities into God-centered personalities. It transforms a man from a whirlpool

into a fountain." What page to prefer in a book like this is perplexing. One good page repeats the words in which Mrs. Browning describes and exalts the service which God's prophets render to mankind:

> Aye, and while your common men
> Lay telegraphs, gauge railroads, reign, reap, dine,
> And dust the flaunting carpets of the world
> For kings to walk on or our President,
> The *Prophet* suddenly will catch them up
> With his voice like a thunder—"*This* is soul,
> *This* is life, *this* word is being said in heaven,
> Here's God down on us! What are you about?

Of Jacob's wrestling with the mysterious Presence, this is part of what is written: "What will save Jacob with his thrift from becoming a miser? One thing only, the battle which is on between Jacob and the Angel. And there by the brook Jabbok the Angel conquered. The tight fist was pried open and the man passed into the prince. He rose into the mastery of life through the Master of life, the Angel of redemption, the Hero of the soul. There is such an Angel, Master, Hero; the One with whom you and I have wrestled at our Jabbok. Sometimes he seems to stand in our way; he will not let us go over; he holds us back and we turn upon him with all our force. Ah, this wrestling Angel of life! How he works in among the tendencies of the soul, and out among the opportunities of life, checking this ambition, shaping that aspiration, training the other desire. He makes the path easy here and hard there, the ascent now slow, now fast—the Angel we fear yet love, cling to yet oppose. In the seed we plant in the springtime there are three things: First, its inheritance; this is born a rose, that a bluebell, and this a pansy. Second, its environments: earth, air, sun, and dew. Then there is life, the mysterious Angel that wrestles with the inherited qualities not to change but to master them; that wrestles with sun and dew, air and earth, not to defeat but to master them, bringing forth the pansy, the bluebell, and the rose each in its perfectness. Just those three things are in the problem of your being—your native qualities, your environment, and the Angel of life bringing these into the divine mastery, shaping, breathing on them, and carrying them upward into sons of God." On another page is this true word: "The Bible alone realizes its ideal in history. Other literatures have failed in this respect. Plato spoke of a man that should come with the last word of truth. But that man never came to Plato to complete his philosophy. The artist idealized beauty into a god. But that god never became incarnate and visited the studio of the artist. Confucius bent all his theories toward what he calls 'the superior man.' But that man never came to verify the theories of Confucius. Almighty God seems to have entered into a league with the Hebrew Bible that sometime, somewhere, the great ideal of that book should be realized in a person. Now, it has been said,

and most truly, that personality is the ultimate reality. Therefore the Bible reveals the Ultimate Reality, and is a complete book. Other books are fragments. They begin with a person in local relations and pass on into words, powerless words. This Book begins with words, the dreams and aspirations of the centuries, and passes on into a person, who has universal relations, an almighty and all-loving Person, and is complete in him. 'I am come to fulfill.' The Old Testament Scriptures hold potentially God's great thought of life, and Jesus Christ came to fulfill it." About the Master's answer to the tempter, "Man shall not live by bread alone," our author writes thus: "Jesus did not make bread, for he came to make men, and men are not made of bread, as was made manifest in the experience of God's ancient people. God had been making some men, and he hadn't used much bread in the process. He had made them not in gardens, but in the desert; not among rich vineyards, but under the shadow of somber mountains. They were led not by the wheat fields of the future, but by a fire at night and a cloud by day. He had made them of words, lessons, visions, commandments, and discipline, sifting these in through the soul as the sun sifts through the chinks of a cavern till it is all glorious within. This is the most ancient teaching of God, that man does not live by bread, but by words—the lesson Abraham had to learn. One day the question of bread arose—he must have bread. Down to Egypt he goes, coins his soul in the mint of iniquity, and buys bread. But he learns the lesson and returns again to the hill country, there to nourish his higher nature as God whispers through the oak, speaks in the sacrifice, and looks down through the steady strong stars. Another day, when he and Lot stood out to divide the land, it was the bread question again. Lot took the bread, the fertile plains; and this time Abraham was content with the rocks, the stars, and God. . . . And one day, around this very question of bread again, Jesus works out once more the old truth that man does not live by bread. He had just performed the miracle of the loaves. Then from the bread he leads up to words, great living words, and from words to himself, till the crowd melted away and only a few of his followers were left. Then he turned to them with, 'And will ye also go away?'—whereupon Peter—Peter always bigger inside than out, always with more ideas than he knew what to do with, and more life than he could manage—Peter rose to the occasion, crying, 'To whom shall we go? Thou hast the words of eternal life—the living bread.'" Facing the chapter on the Book of books, the Lamp for man's soul, Browning's lines are printed:

> I press God's lamp
> Close to my breast—its splendor, soon or late,
> Will pierce the gloom.

Unto Heights Heroic attempts to sketch the biblical philosophy of Literature, History, and Life. It exhibits the noble vitality of the Bible, its far-reaching purpose and power, its unique and unrivaled

place in the life of man, and the great fact that this ancient Book has alone kept pace with the progress of man, has never been thrown off the scent, but has ever held and still holds the secret of human development. It is a stimulating book.

PHILOSOPHY, SCIENCE, AND GENERAL LITERATURE.

Quiet Hints to Growing Preachers. By CHARLES E. JEFFERSON, D.D. 16mo, pp. 214. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell & Co. Price, cloth, $1.

The author's "Quiet Talks with Earnest People," noticed here not long ago, were for the laity, as these "Hints" are for the clergy. In both the quietness is like that of a loaded Leyden jar, shocking to the man who touches it. The spirit's pale electric sword flashes and thrusts at us on many a page. The young pastor of the Broadway Tabernacle Church, in New York, talks with affectionate and helpful plainness here "to his younger brethren in the ministry, for whom he craves a blessed life and a glorious work." The purpose of these admonitory "Hints" is not censorious, but sympathetic. Dr. Jefferson prefaces his pungent admonitions by saying: "Ministers as a body are, I think, the best men living on the earth. In purity of motive they surpass as a class the lawyers, in breadth of sympathy the physicians, in fidelity to principle the editors, in self-sacrifice the merchants, in moral courage the soldiers, in loftiness of ideal the teachers, in purity of life the highest classes in our best society. But ministers to be as good as other classes of men must be better than they. No other set of men make such assumptions or bind themselves to such high ideals. A lawyer when admitted to the bar does not promise to obey the Ten Commandments. A physician on receiving his diploma does not agree to practice the Sermon on the Mount. Merchants do not enter business announcing to the world their purpose to give their life a ransom for many. If, therefore, both in spirit and conduct ministers as a body were not superior to every other class of men they would be a disgrace to their profession and a scandal to the world. More may rightfully be expected from them than from others; and much is received from them. The clerical body as a whole is made up of honest, capable, faithful men. But being human they are capable of distorted action, and their peculiar work exposes them to some dangers from which other men are, as a rule, exempt. Many a man in the ministry fails, not because he is bad, but because he is unwise or indolent or has a genius for blundering." This book says that organized Christianity can accomplish nothing unless its leaders are hardy and tough, that young men must be ready to endure hardness as good soldiers, that no one who is not willing to work like a slave is worthy to stand before the world as an ordained messenger of Christ, that easy fields exist only in the imagination of the uninformed, that all fields are hard to the workman who does his duty, that every

parish has its snags and each heart knoweth its own bitterness, that the "favored" minister whose life is supposed to be one grand, sweet song is found to be a heavily laden burden-bearer when one comes near enough to hear the thumping of his heart, that the difficulties and annoyances in a small church are matched by the complications, multitudinous cares, merciless demands, and intricate perplexities of a large church. "Woe to the minister who is looking for an easy job! There is more hope for a fool than for him." "Constant mental application, as well as spiritual self-culture, is the price a minister must pay for power. When men cross the dead line under seventy it is ordinarily because they have ceased to develop new cells in the gray matter of their brain; and a parish soon discovers when a minister is trusting to his diploma or his natural fluency or leaning on early studies, having put his mind to bed. To be a preacher whom the years cannot wear thin, a man must be an everlasting student. He must be willing to drudge and dig and grind. He must trounce his mind whenever he catches it dawdling or slouching or lounging. He must give himself soul and body to his work with the devotion and fidelity of a slave who has been redeemed by a master who renders to every man according to his work." Of causes of despondency our author says: "A minister is subjected to an incessant nervous strain. As executive officer he is harassed by the details and friction of church administration. As pastor he is in constant contact with the sorrowing and the sick. The poor also are always with him. He knows as few men do how the other half lives. Numberless needy men and women slip up to him in the crowd and by their touch draw virtue from him. It is often with a dizzy head and a sick heart that he goes into the pulpit Sunday morning to make a still heavier draft upon his vital forces. No man can vitalize others without devitalizing himself. Sermons that heal and lift have in them the red blood of the preacher's heart. He may save others; himself he cannot save. It was physical exhaustion which cast Elijah under a juniper tree and drew from his heroic lips the unmanly cry, 'It is enough.' But a minister who lives under a juniper tree cannot preach inspiriting Gospel sermons. An exhausted and disheartened man takes the heart out of everybody else. At whatever cost he must give his nerves a chance to recuperate. He must get away from his work one day in seven. Does he think that he can drive a coach and four through the Decalogue without paying the penalty?" Here is a protest which is not uncalled for: "There are ministers who have no conscience in their treatment of the men who follow them on a program. If given the chance to speak first they take all the time there is, leaving those who come after them the raveled fragment of a ruined hour. A mental state capable of such conduct deserves the investigation of the psychologists. Why the work of preaching the Gospel should develop in certain men the disposition of a brigand destitute of all fine scruples of equity and honor is a problem. The facts are clear

and incontrovertible. There are men who when asked to divide an hour on the platform with a brother minister will greedily devour the first half of it and take a huge bite out of the second; who will steal every moment they can wrap their tongue around, and then say to their outraged victim, with a bland smile, 'I did not realize how long I was speaking.' A certain Christian worker who has had experience in making programs is inclined to think that if five speakers are wanted to grace an important occasion it would be safer to trust five men chosen at random from the penitentiary to do unto one another the thing that is right in the division of time, than five eloquent clergymen taken from Christian pulpits." One of the most popular preachers and platform speakers in Methodism has had such an experience in taking what little was left of the evening after a prominent Baptist pastor had consumed nearly the whole that he vows he will never again appear on the platform with that man. Elementary morals must not be neglected. If a minister cannot be a saint or a hero let him at least be decent. For one thing, he must always keep his promise, meet his engagement, and make his word as good as any man's bond. A certain conspicuous city clergyman draws large audiences, appears in many cities on important occasions, preaching with fervid manner the most highly spiritual doctrines, while at home his neighboring pastors of all denominations have proved in their intercourse with him that he is insensible to the most ordinary obligations, his promises are worthless, and his iterated and reiterated pledge is as valueless as Confederate bonds. It happens that this particular sinner is not of our communion. Another thing: the preacher must *know* books and feed his mind with them, but he must *love* and *serve* men. He is not a minister unless he is a servant. When he neglects the sick and dying, when he ignores the strangers and the man in need of counsel, when he goes toward his people with repining and returns to his books with a sigh of relief, he has entered on the road to death. He is losing the temper without which no man can be a true minister of Christ. No pride can be more scornful and cruel than the pride of a man who has lived with books until he has lost sympathy with men. It is as necessary for the minister to know and love his parish as to know and love his Bible. One last admonition: "Not a few newspaper men hold ministers in contempt because of their unhappy dealings with certain pulpit eagles who have clamored incessantly for the privilege of soaring in their columns. A minister itching for public recognition not only makes himself ridiculous, but throws suspicion on all his brethren." The true minister will do his duty without fuss or feathers up to the level of strength and opportunity. Fame is nothing; serving God by helping men is all. Much of the best work in the world is done by unnoticed toilers in obscure fields. Much of the best preaching is done in pulpits which have no halo around them in the public eye. It is the plodders who do the solid and enduring work.

The Teachings of Dante. By CHARLES ALLEN DINSMORE. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 12mo. Price, cloth, $1.50.

One of the most striking literary phenomena of recent years is the revival of interest in the study of Dante, not only in Italy, but in England and America. Translation after translation of the "Divine Comedy" has been published, substantial additions to scholarship have been made, and in nearly all of our more important American colleges and universities courses on Dante are offered to the student. Even the general public has become interested in the subject, and Dante clubs have been formed all over the country. No one who has once felt the invincible charm and the spiritual power of the "Divine Comedy" can fail to rejoice at this new interest in the great Florentine poet. It is especially gratifying in this day of promiscuous reading, when the Sunday newspaper, the cheap magazine, and the flashy novel have monopolized to a large extent the attention of young and old. The book before us can be heartily commended to all who are interested, both in literature and religion. While the number of works on Dante is legion, there was a place for this book which treats of the "Divine Comedy" from the standpoint of modern theology. The author is a clergyman and has applied to the interpretation of Dante's poem all the help supplied by his theological and ministerial training. What we especially admire in the discussion, however, is the sanity and fairness of view which the author manifests; there is none of that tendency to sermonize which so often attends the discussion of scholarly subjects on the part of ministers. The book bears evidence of an earnest study and thorough knowledge of the "Divine Comedy," and the author seems to be at home in his subject, weaving into the fabric of his argument various details taken from all parts of Dante's great poem. Mr. Dinsmore's book is divided into five general sections, which themselves are broken up into short chapters—a system which gives it a somewhat fragmentary appearance. The early sections discuss briefly the life and character of Dante. The extraordinary concentration of Dante's whole life into the composition of the "Divine Comedy" is well illustrated by a reference to Michael Angelo which deserves quotation: "If Michael Angelo could have devoted all his vast energies to the rearing of one immense cathedral, conceived in every detail from foundation to turret by his own majestic mind, adorned with statues to which his skilled hands had given the breath of life, all the pictures that ever came glowing and terrible from his brushes ornamenting its wall and ceilings, and the whole crowned with a dome as stately as St. Peter's, he would have wrought in stone what Dante accomplished in the 'Divine Comedy.'" On reading this passage an involuntary feeling of regret comes over us that the great painter, sculptor, and architect, instead of merely admiring Dante, had not imitated him by devoting all his powers to the production of one supreme work of art. In the three last sections of Mr. Dinsmore's book he treats of the "Inferno"

"Purgatorio," and "Paradiso," under the headings of "The Vision of Sin," "The Quest of Liberty," and "The Ascent to God." This part of the book is excellent, and abounds in acute analyses of the nature of sin and religious experience. Especially valuable are the comparisons between the mediæval conception of religion as exemplified in Dante and the modern Protestant conception. Among the various points the author brings out we may mention the absence of remorse in Hell, the self-centered penitence of the souls in Purgatory (who literally work out their own salvation in fear and trembling), and the absence of the personal element of Christ, so prominent a feature of Protestantism, especially in these days of a Christocentric theology. Yet in spite of these differences the author has a high, almost extravagant, admiration for the teaching of Dante, emphasizing the essential truth of his conception of sin, repentance, and self-purification. All the symbolic descriptions and quaint scholastic discussions are translated into terms of modern religious experience. Especially worthy of note is the comparison of repentance as seen in the "Purgatorio" and that of Arthur Dimmesdale in Hawthorne's *Scarlet Letter*. An idea of the author's breadth of reading may be gained from the fact that he makes frequent reference to or quotation from Shakespeare, Milton, Browning, Tennyson, Gilder, Newman, Byron, Shelley, Omar Khayyám, Carlyle, Ruskin, Hallam, Spurgeon, Edwards, Bushnell, Parkman, Victor Hugo. There seems to be little evidence, however, that the author has read widely in Dante literature itself. His study seems to be based for the most part on the "Divine Comedy" itself, and, if we are not mistaken, on the translations rather than on the original. He has thus been led into making a few slips of fact, or into stating as fact what is doubtful. Thus most Dante scholars are agreed as to the identity of Beatrice Portinari (p. 17) with Beatrice of the "New Life" and the "Divine Comedy." As to Dante's being on an embassy to Rome at the time of the decree of his exile (p. 11), this is, to say the least, doubtful. (See Scartazzini, *Dante in Germania*, vol. ii, p. 341.) Likewise of doubtful authenticity is the letter to Can Grande della Scala (p. 50), which Scartazzini calls "*epistola di somma importanza, ma di dubbia authenticità*" (*Enciclopedia Dantesca*, i, p. 703). The cross in Mars is red, not white, and Cassella (p. 117) should be Casella. Yet these are only venial errors in a book which, taken as a whole, is excellent. The personal experiences related in the Preface as to how the author came to study Dante are interesting, and it is hoped that many of our ministers will be induced to follow Mr. Dinsmore's example and study this "poem of the earth and air." Surely no book outside the Bible can be so profitable or so worthy the earnest study of the preacher of the Gospel. In the words of Dean Church, those who know the "Divine Comedy" best "know how often they have found in times of trouble, if not light, at least that deep sense of reality which is more than light can always give, in the view which it has suggested to them of the judgments and the love of God."

Life Everlasting. By JOHN FISKE. 16mo, pp. 87. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Price, cloth, $1.

This little book makes a significant quartet with *The Destiny of Man*, *The Idea of God*, and *Through Nature to God*, by the same author, embodying the reasoned faith of the foremost American interpreter of evolution. It was the "Ingersoll lecture on the Immortality of Man," delivered at Harvard University in 1900. Professor Fiske's sudden death in and by the excessive heat of last summer leaves this as his last message to his fellow-mortals. He reiterates here, as in his *Destiny of Man*, that denial of human immortality is no corollary from the doctrine of evolution. He inquires how it fares in these exacting scientific days with that Unseen World which man brought with him when he first made his appearance on our planet; and what science has to say about that time-honored belief that the human soul survives the death of the body. The gist and sum of his answer is that science knows nothing against human immortality, and cannot to-day offer a single objection to it. Speaking of Moleschott's often-quoted aphorism, "No thought without phosphorus," John Fiske wrote: "When this saying was a new one there were worthy and intelligent people who felt that somehow it was all over with man's immortal soul. With phosphorus you light your candle, and with phosphorus you discover Neptune and write the Fifth Symphony; how simple and convincing! And yet, was anything save a bit of rhetoric really gained by singling out phosphorus among the chemical constituents of brain tissue rather than carbon or nitrogen? Suppose the dictum had been, 'No thought without a brain.' The obvious answer would have been, 'If you refer to the present life, most erudite professor, your remark is true, but not novel or startling; if you refer to any condition of things subsequent to death, pray where did you obtain your knowledge?'" Against the materialistic notion that conscious intelligence is to the brain as music is to the harp, so that when the harp is broken there can be no more music, Dr. Fiske supports the opposite view that the conscious soul is not an emanation from the brain, but from the Divine Intelligence which shapes and sustains the world, and that this divinely created conscious soul uses the brain as its instrument during its residence in the body, so that the soul is not the music, but the harper. And this view is confirmed by deductions from the scientific doctrine of the correlation of forces. In his little book, *The Destiny of Man in the Light of His Origin*, our author insisted on the dramatic tendency or divine purpose indicated in the long cosmic process which has manifestly from the outset aimed at the production and perfection of the higher spiritual attributes of humanity. In his other volume, *Through Nature to God*, he called attention to the fact that belief in an Unseen World, especially associated with the moral significance of life, was coeval with the genesis of Man, and has played a predominating part in his development ever since, and he argued that under such circumstances the belief must be based

upon an eternal reality, since a contrary supposition is negatived by all that we know of the habits and methods of the cosmic process of evolution. Patient study of that process is likely soon, John Fiske tells us, to supply the basis for a Natural Theology more comprehensive, more profound, more hopeful, and more cheering than could hitherto be even imagined.

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, AND TOPOGRAPHY.

A Short History of the Hebrews, to the Roman Period. By R. L. OTTLEY, Rector of Winterbourne Bassett, Wiltshire, sometime Student of Christ Church and Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford. With Maps. 12mo, pp. 324 New York: The Macmillan Company. Price, cloth, $1.25.

The purpose of the author has been to furnish teachers and students with a text-book on Hebrew history which would be "more consistent with the present state of our knowledge" than those now in use. Despite drawbacks, the author's purpose has been realized. Nor have we any other work at present so well adapted to the need which teachers and students feel of a brief sketch of Hebrew history composed in the light of modern knowledge. The style of the book is clear and straightforward, and there is an ever-present appreciation of the religious element in the life and literature of the Old Testament such as not only gives a sympathetic reader a sense of pleasure, but, as well, inspires larger trust in the historian's attitude toward his subject. The period covered is from the early narratives of Genesis to the overthrow of the nation in A. D. 70. There are, the writer holds, no materials for the history before Abraham. Abraham and the patriarchs who come after him are assumed to be historical, with the exception of "some of the ancestors of the twelve tribes." What is related of the patriarchs is not personal history, but an idealization of tribal tradition, from which we may, however, gather some facts as to the early locations and migrations of the Hebrew tribes. This idealized history, moreover, breathes the genuine spirit and atmosphere of patriarchal life. The Israelites are declared to have been in Egypt and the Exodus to have occurred essentially as the Bible relates. But the author, adopting Sayce's view, holds that the plagues "were signs and wonders . . . [merely] because the diseases and plagues already known to the country were intensified in action and crowded into a short space of time." Thus, the account in Exodus is also interpreted as idealized history in accordance with the previous treatment of the patriarchal stories. Moses is said to have given three distinct burdens of legislation to the Israelites: first, at Sinai; then, at Kadesh-barnea; and, finally, in the plains of Moab. In dealing with the period from Moses to David inclusive the criticism of sources on the part of the author seems to have been decidedly halting. The real significance of Moses, Joshua, the Judges, and the two earliest kings in the political growth of Israel is not made sufficiently clear and emphatic. When

we leave this portion of the work, however, we find, in what remains to the end, a concise and satisfactory account of the known facts of the national life down to the destruction of Jerusalem. In estimating the value of archæological testimony the author takes the position that, however valuable the witness of the monuments may be to illustrate the life and institutions of the Hebrews, it cannot be said to have confirmed the actual incidents in Genesis and Exodus. His judgment on the historical value of the Old Testament is one which appeals to many scholars as meeting the demands of the facts: It is Sacred History which "needs to be interpreted, supplemented, and in some cases corrected, by evidence derived from other sources" (p. 2). In the creation accounts of Gen. i and ii the author finds conclusive proof of an interdependence between the Hebrew and Babylonian cosmogonies. His position in relation to the deluge accounts is similar. We cannot, however, be sure of any such interdependence. It is more probable that the points of likeness in the Hebrew and Babylonian stories are due to a common derivation from a primitive Semitic tradition (so Professor Jastrow in *The Independent*, October 17, 1901). It must be from lapse of memory that the author declares (p. 4) that there are no Israelitish monuments, inscriptions, or tombs whose witness might serve the historian's purpose. There are not many such, it is true, but what there are have greatly aided the work of geographers, archæological students, and students of Hebrew religion, and, also, it may be added, other recent writers on Hebrew history. We must assume that it is due to want of attention, too, that the historical worth of First and Second Maccabees is not distinguished on page 5. There are some instances in the book of what appears to be partial or complete contradiction. For example: Page 25, "The ancestors of the Hebrews wandered southward;" but, page 27, note 3, "There are some indications that the Hebrews originally migrated northward from the desert region south of Palestine." Again, page 219, "It is impossible to tell how far the story of Daniel's career is historical;" page 220, "It is now generally acknowledged that the noble and edifying stories of the book of Daniel are to be regarded as *haggâdot* . . .;" page 220, note 1, "If the story of Daniel be historical, it is strange that no mention of him occurs in any Old Testament narrative of the restoration, and that his name is omitted in the list of Israelitish worthies mentioned in Ecclus. xlix." The author thinks the books of the Old Testament were all regarded as "canonical" before the close of the third century B. C. In this he is at least a century earlier than modern conservative estimates (compare Ryle, *Old Testament Canon*, p. 189). It seems a pity that the map of Western Asia in Early Times, following page 22, should not have been in perfect agreement with the statements in the text of the volume, for example, Tarshish, Cush, Rehoboth. Kudurlagarmar, page 31, line 11, is probably a misprint. The writer of this Sacred History is a high churchman, and it would seem that his views of

the origin of Church institutions have to some extent influenced his conclusions in the present volume. We cannot otherwise explain his view that there was an Aaronite priesthood with a Levite ministry in service at the tabernacle in the wilderness. Other points appear, likewise, to presuppose some such bias, as, for example, the declaration that when the period of the Judges opens the Levites occupied their forty-eight cities and had their maintenance provided for in the tithe offerings (p. 89); also, that Saul *usurped* priestly functions and offered sacrifice (p. 128); again, the omission to state that the temple was really one of the suite of buildings which made up Solomon's palace. The like influence may have caused the author to accept the traditional view as to the importance of the southern kingdom of Judah. The more important of the two kingdoms while both were in existence was assuredly the northern one. In his account of Josiah's reformation (p. 209) Ottley says: "The influence of the hierarchy at Jerusalem was greatly augmented: the ministers of the local 'high places' were degraded to the position of inferior servitors or assistants to the priests of the temple." There is no ground for the latter part of this assertion in either 2 Kings xxiii or 2 Chron. xxxiv, and it directly contradicts Deut. xviii, 6-8. There was indeed room upon our shelves for a manual like this, presenting in compact form the history of Israel as it is now commonly explained on the basis of modern historical and literary research. Kent has given us an admirable series of books which serve this purpose, but one volume is better than four, and there was need for the one volume. There are now so many shades of opinion about the results of the modern critical processes that it is quite impossible to classify Mr. Ottley's book in a phrase, such as once might have been used. Perhaps we shall classify him as well as may be if we say that he is more conservative than Kent and a trifle more advanced than McCurdy. He finds a very much larger historical element in the earliest portions of Israel's history than has been usual lately, and in this respect represents the view which we confidently expect to see prevail in the end. He accepts unreservedly the Mosaic origin of the Decalogue, and, to our great satisfaction, maintains the historical value of Ezra-Nehemiah against Kosters and Torrey. Conservative scholars will not be wholly satisfied with this book, for the documentary sources of our biblical books are exploited and the adjective "unhistorical" (or its equivalents) plays no inconsiderable part in the characterizations of portions of our ancient sources. But they will be quick to recognize the fine spirit of the book, and its keen appreciation of the spiritual content of Israel's religion. There are excellent tables of chronology (wherein are many things hard to be understood), appendixes rich in useful summaries of information concerning the sources, and good indexes. It is a workmanlike, handy, and useful volume, the best book of its kind now accessible, and it covers a period of extraordinary importance in the spiritual progress of mankind.

The Early History of Syria and Palestine. By LEWIS BAYLES PATON, Ph.D., Professor of Old Testament Exegesis and Criticism in Hartford Theological Seminary. 12mo, pp. xxxvi, 302. With maps. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. Price, cloth, $1.25.

This is the work of one who has a command of all the materials needful for his task. He knows, and knows well, his sources, and shows constructive quality of a high order in the interpretation and composition of what they have to offer. The author has used to the full the published texts of the Assyrian and Aramæan inscriptions, and in his copious employment of the Egyptian records has followed the best available translations. Frequent reference is made to the modern literature of the subject, and the text of the volume is preceded by a comprehensive bibliography (pp. xx-xxxvi) which covers the important articles in periodicals as well as the independent works of scholars. This department of the book is brought down late enough to include the third volume of McCurdy's *History, Prophecy, and the Monuments*, which was published in the spring of the present year. In point of style the work has the excellence of clearness and conciseness, and no time or trouble is wasted by the reader because of any deficiency in the writer's gift of expression. Taken altogether, we have a fresh subject treated with such satisfactory vigor and grasp as to make us hope that Professor Paton will continue his studies in this field and allow us to enjoy the results. Starting with the primitive non-Semitic inhabitants of Syria and Palestine, the work proceeds to deal with the earliest migration of the Semites from Arabia into the valley of the Euphrates, whence it spread over the western territory as far as the Mediterranean Sea. The date of this migration is taken to be *circa* 3500 B. C. Following this came an Amoritic migration from the Semitic cradle-land in Arabia. This current, it is conjectured, entered Babylonia at first, but found later its proper home in Syria and Palestine. It reached also into Egypt. The supposed date is 2500 B. C. These Amorites effectually displaced the earlier Babylonian population in the west and continued to be the socially dominant race there until the next great Semitic movement. This entered the Sinaitic Peninsula from Arabia about 1700 B. C., and from this region advanced to the conquest of Palestine, on the one hand, and to the conquest of Egypt, on the other. In Palestine the name Canaanites came to be applied to these conquerors, while in Egypt the same race were called Hyksos. The course of events, Paton thinks, makes this identification of Canaanites and Hyksos to be the most reasonable conclusion. The final Semitic migration of early times is the Aramæan, which took place in the fourteenth century B. C., and in its earliest stage is represented by the Khabiri of the Tel-el-Amarna correspondence, and in a later stage by the Israelites. The home of these Aramæans after they came out of Arabia had been the Syrian desert, and from there they crowded into Syria proper and Palestine. Concurrent with this Aramæan

movement was the entrance of the Hittites, a northern non-Semitic people, into Syria. Later than the Hittites came the Philistines and other Aryan tribes from Asia Minor. These Aryan tribes at first invaded Syria, probably about the end of the thirteenth century B. C., and shortly afterward came to occupy their later home on the lower coast of Palestine and in the Shephelah. They were, consequently, in the land of Canaan shortly before Israel entered it from Egypt. In the periods following the several migrations the historian of this volume has given, mainly from Egyptian and Babylonian sources, an account of the relations held by Egypt and Babylon in turn to Syria and Palestine. From what is given we may gather a good idea of the relation existing between the two sovereign states and their vassals among the Asiatic Semites. We see portrayed, likewise, the rise of the minor Aramæan states: Moab, Ammon, Edom, Israel, and the principalities of Syria. The advance of these states to independent power is shown, and then, as the Assyrian makes his hand of doom to be felt west of the Euphrates, we witness their gradual decline and final overthrow. The author's story ends with the rise of the Aryan Cyrus, king of Anzan and of Persia, whose appearance sounded the death-knell of the early Semitic empire in Asia. Israel is but one people in the early history of Syria and Palestine, and in this work the history of Israel has been very properly viewed in its harmonious relation to the march of events in its environment. Seeking to write a comprehensive sketch of the ancient Semitic peoples, whose seat lay between the Mediterranean and the Euphrates, and using the Old Testament as but one of his sources, Dr. Paton has been able to place the Hebrew people in the complex Semitic life of antiquity as no previous author known to us has succeeded in doing. Attention may be directed to particular subjects which receive very striking treatment in the work. Abram and Genesis xiv; the Exodus and its incidents and personages; the choice of Yahweh and Yahweh's choice of Israel; the composite character of Israel; Mutsri and Mitsraim. In a book of this kind so radical a change as has been made in the date of Sargon I should have had its reasons adequately presented. Some discussions on disputed dates and analyses of records which have been introduced into the text break the course of the narrative and ought to have been placed in footnotes or appendices. The paper on which this book, as well as the previous two volumes of the same series, is printed is of too poor a quality for works of permanent worth.

Lands, Monuments, and Inscriptions, Illustrating Bible History. By MARK B. CHAPMAN, D.D., Author of "Lands of the Orient," with an Introduction by Jno. J. Tigert, D.D., LL.D., Book Editor M. E. Church, South. 12mo, pp. 264. Nashville, Tenn.: Dallas, Tex.: Publishing House of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. Barbee & Smith, Agents. Price, cloth, $1.25.

Dr. Tigert, himself a man of wide acquaintance with archæology and criticism, has introduced this small volume in words beginning

thus: "The publication of such books as Sayce's *Higher Criticism and the Monuments, Early Israel and the Surrounding Nations*, Rogers's *History of Babylonia and Assyria;* McCurdy's *History, Prophecy, and the Monuments;* Rassam's *Asshur and the Land of Nimrod*, and others that might be mentioned, has familiarized the popular mind with the fact that there has been preserved a veritable historical record parallel, generally speaking, with that contained in the Old Testament and serving valuable ends of elucidation and verification. Sayce and Hommel may have somewhat exaggerated the value of these independent historical materials for the refutation of the predominantly literary and documentary hypotheses of higher criticism. Indeed, historians will find higher and more constructive uses for these records unearthed by the pick and the spade than those of mere polemics." These are words of wisdom and sobriety representing exactly the spirit which is desirable to-day as never before. But, we regret to add, they seem curiously out of place in introducing a book written in a totally different spirit. Dr. Chapman has written his book with the purpose of compelling archæological investigations to confirm the Old Testament history. His entire point of view is represented in this sentence: "Thus the revelations of the Assyrian monuments and inscriptions, and of the later Babylonian historian, corroborate in a very remarkable manner the Bible history of Jonah." The purpose is a good one, but its execution is full of dangers to any but the expert, and every page of Dr. Chapman's book makes sadly evident that he is not an expert. He has evidently read Sayce industriously, for echoes of his work are found reproduced all through the book. He has also read parts of Rogers's *History of Babylonia and Assyria*, for upon it he has evidently based the story in chapter i, and from it he has taken the allusion to Odoricus on page 5, which could have been obtained nowhere else; a sentence relating to Sargon (p. 58), and the date of the beginning of the "Arabian" dynasty (p. 59). There are a few allusions to other scholars, but there is a sad lack of discrimination in the use of authorities, the old and the new being hopelessly intermingled. To point out all the errors of fact or of judgment in the book would occupy pages, but a few must be cited in order to caution possible readers. On page 16 occurs the statement that, "This sacred day [the Sabbath] was to be observed on the seventh, fourteenth, twenty-first, and twenty-eighth days of the lunar month," thus omitting the nineteenth day, on which a Sabbath also fell. The paragraphs which follow show that Dr. Chapman does not understand the views of modern Assyriologists upon this Babylonian Sabbath at all. On page 33 we are told that, "The word Babel is derived from the Assyrian word *Balbel*, 'to confound.'" As there is no such Assyrian word, one is led to doubt whether Dr. Chapman has not confused a Hebrew etymology in a curious way, or whether he is merely ignorant of the Assyrian etymology of Babel as *Bab-ilu*, the gate of God. The Tel-el-Amarna letters have proved a pitfall for many, and Dr. Chapman

proves to be no exception. He has reproduced a view of Professor Sayce concerning the letter of Abd Khiba (whom he calls Ebed Tob on page 53 and Obed Tob on page 54) which translates and interprets thus: "He [Ebed Tob] asks special consideration because he has been appointed to the office, not by Pharaoh, but by 'the power of the great king,' whose temple was on Mount Moriah." It is now well known that the "great king" thus referred to was a human monarch, and not the god of Moriah. This is bad enough, for the error might have been avoided by a reference to any of the recently published translations, but a very much more reprehensible statement follows in these words: "But what is still more remarkable, the name Melchizedek has actually been found on one of these Tel-el-Amarna tablets." This is false, for no such name has been found on any of them. On page 41 the Accadians are identified with the "descendants of Cain," and on page 75 they are confused with the Chaldeans. On page 79 Tiglath-pileser II should be Tiglath-pileser III; on the next page "Minihimmi of Samerina" is erroneously identified with Menahem of Samaria. On page 81 we have this surprising passage: "Berosus gives his name as Pulu, as does also Ptolemy, in his list of Babylonian kings;" but Ptolemy writes *Poros*, not *Pulu*, and does not Eusebius quote the form *Phulus* from Berosus? But we have said enough—too much, perhaps—of the characteristic errors of the book. In conclusion, we can only say that Dr. Chapman has expended much labor and no little literary skill in producing a book misleading in its method and spirit and fraught with danger to any who may unthinkingly rely upon its statements. To speak thus plainly is an unpleasant duty, but beginners in this study must be warned as well as encouraged. For them the best book is still Price's *The Monuments and the Old Testament.*

MISCELLANEOUS.

The Why, When, and How of Revivals. By Bishop W. F. MALLALIEU. 16mo, pp. 160. New York: Eaton & Mains. Cincinnati: Jennings & Pye. Price, cloth, 75 cents.

This little volume is full of plain, earnest, and urgent talk on such subtopics as "Evangelistic Preaching," "Wise and Timely Plans for Revival," "God's Prompt Response," "Revival Persistency," "Blind Leaders of the Blind," "Special Helps in Revivals," "Pastoral Visitation," "Looking Out for Strangers," "Saving the Children," "Sunday School and Epworth League," "Securing and Caring for Converts." It contains much sensible and godly advice from a powerfully evangelistic preacher who has made a practical study of revival effort and method all his life. Its pages are warmed by the author's characteristic fervency. The book is sent forth because of a conviction that it is needed in a time which seems perilous and portentous because of conditions thus described: "Knowledge is increased, but private morals and civic virtues are far below the proper standard. The rum power was never more malignant, masterful, and aggressive than now; it

antagonizes the kingdom of Christ constantly, vigorously, viciously, everywhere, and sleeplessly. The dance, the theater, vile pictures, and vile literature combine to corrupt and destroy our youth. By millions of our people the Sabbath is recklessly and flagrantly desecrated, the house of God abandoned, and the Bible despised. Here and there are occupants of chairs in schools of theology or of pulpits in the churches who align themselves with the scoffers and infidels of this and other times and countries. Too many working people, toilers with hand or brain, keep themselves outside the range of Christian influences, and are becoming more and more of the earth, earthy. A thousand remedies may be proposed for this sad and alarming condition of affairs, but in all the range of possibility there is only one sure remedy, and that is the living Gospel of the Son of God. It will surely destroy sin and cure all human ills if it can be put in practice in daily life. There is absolutely no call for any new truth; the teachings of the Lord Jesus Christ meet to the fullest extent all the demands of these restless and troubled times. In the dissemination of those teachings there is no occasion for extravagant, sensational contrivances. What is needed is the plain, simple, intense, persistent presentation in all our pulpits of the whole round of Gospel truths. Then there must be holy living on the part of all preachers and professors. The unbelieving world has a right to demand that we illustrate in character and conduct the reality of what we preach." The bishop deplores the custom of putting off till the so-called Week of Prayer—the first week in January—the great revival effort of the year. He says: "In far too many cases we have given up the months of October and November, not to speak of September and December, to lectures of various kinds, to fairs and festivals, and nearly all sorts of entertainments, and have thus lost, in affairs of minor importance, and sometimes of doubtful utility, the very best part of the year for public gatherings of the people, and have shut ourselves up to a time when we are more than likely to have exceedingly cold and stormy weather with roads and streets in a condition to render it practically impossible for most people to attend revival meetings if they should be held. This great and widely prevalent mistake must be corrected if we hope to secure the best possible results." After pictures, taken from a pastor's notebook, of a succession of miserable houses all blasted and mined by the damnation of drunkenness, the bishop exclaims: "And all this in a so-called Christian land! It is enough to enrage with holy wrath every heart that is loyal to the Lord Jesus. What an unspeakable shame and disgrace that Christian people will tolerate and supinely submit to a traffic which destroys so many homes and makes a hell on earth! If the drink habit is a sin, then it is the duty of all good people to remove the temptation to sin. If the drink habit is a disease, then the deadly poison which induces the disease ought to be put entirely out of reach of the sick." May this book fulfill its author's prayerful desire and many genuine revivals be promoted by its influence!

The Great Saints of the Bible. By LOUIS ALBERT BANKS, D.D. 12mo, pp. 351. New York: Eaton & Mains. Cincinnati: Jennings & Pye. Price, cloth, $1.50.

The Presbyterian bookstore in a large city reported a few years ago that it sold more of Dr. Banks's sermons than of any others. The volumes pour unceasingly from his pulpit. This is a companion volume to *The Great Sinners of the Bible*, both made up of Sunday evening sermons. The preacher's purpose was to win people to the Christian life by showing the divine power to save men from their sins and to build them up in righteous character, as it is illustrated in the old Bible stories. "There is," as Dr. Banks says, "an abundance of real human blood in these stories, and it is only necessary for a man to study them until they become living personalities to him, and then, with perfect naturalness and simplicity, relate them to the people with the same earnestness and realism that he would tell a story of love or tragedy which happened yesterday." These "Great Saints" will, as the preacher hopes, "prove inspiring visitors in the minister's study and interesting and helpful company wherever they go." The sermons have such titles as "The Fulfillment of Love's Dreams," "A Friendless Prisoner who Turned Out Well," "A Saint with a Crooked Past," "The Five Wise Virgins of the Old Testament," "The Flowers which Bloom in the Desert," "The Conversion of a Major General," "The Horses and Chariots of the Sun," "A Bright Man who Needed Making Over," "A Politician who Lost His Infidelity," "The Power House of the Soul," "The Stenographer to whom Paul Dictated His Letters," "The Man who Lives at Satan's Seat." This volume proves that the Bible stories may be so translated into the language of to-day that they will attract multitudes of men and women who have come to believe that sermons are dull and unprofitable. The preacher of these sermons is a master in illustrating spiritual truth. The last of the thirty is "The Honor of a Gentleman," from the text, "And he said unto them, When I sent you without purse, and scrip, and shoes, lacked ye anything? And they said, Nothing." It begins thus: "David Livingstone was once surrounded by foes in the heart of Africa. His enemies were more than a hundred to one, and they seemed bent on mischief. So far as any human foresight could see he was to perish there alone without even an opportunity of letting the world know how he died. The sun was going toward its setting, and he thought this likely to be the last time he should see it on earth. He went into his tent, took up his well-worn Bible, and turned to the words that Christ gave to his disciples as a last love message before his final ascension into heaven: Go ye therefore, and teach all nations, . . . teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you: and, lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world.' Livingstone closed his Bible and said, 'That is the word of a gentleman, and he will never break it.' He went to bed as usual and slept in peace. The next day he was able to settle all his difficulties with his enemies

peacefully, and went on his way rejoicing. The story referred to by the text is similar. Christ had sent forth his disciples on a preaching campaign, without money or visible means of support, yet he had promised to stand by them and see them through; and now some time after he appeals to them to say whether he has kept his word. And with one accord they declare that his honor as a gentleman has never failed." In illustrative incidents this book is rich.

A Modern Apollos. By ROBERT MCINTYRE. 12mo, pp. 371. Cincinnati: Jennings & Pye. New York: Eaton & Mains. Price, cloth, $1.50.

"Ought ministers to write novels?" It is not strange that powerful novels are written by them; that in England, for example, there should be Charles Kingsley and his brilliant books, and, in our own time, Silas K. Hocking, the Methodist preacher whose numerous novels have a larger sale in Great Britain than the products of any other pen. In this country the list of effective ministerial fiction-writers increases constantly. Space is wanting here to name even our Methodist novelists. Ministers' families often run to this, as to other forms of literary activity; witness the Brontë sisters and Harriet Beecher Stowe. Our mind's eye rests this moment on a certain brilliant essayist in Methodism from whom we expect the novel which we feel sure he is fated some day to write. That the author of that charming volume of verse, *At Early Candlelight*, and the preacher whose glowing imagination, poetic power, and vivid handling of the elements of life are so widely admired, should give us this stirring and rapid story, *A Modern Apollos*, is no surprise. The same rare popular power which, in the pulpit, filled the pews is in these pages to attract crowds of readers. Like *Black Rock*, *Sky Pilot*, and *The Man from Glengarry*, this book lies close to homely life and sends many a thrill through elemental chords. It is full of racy human characters. At the opening of chapter ix we come upon the source of the book's title: "'A modern Apollos,' whatever that means," mused old Brad Baldwin, the loom boss in Harley's mill, an illiterate but important member of Millbank Church. As he wiped his oily hands on a piece of waste he continued to himself: "I more'n suspicion we're in for a long spell o' dry gospel in these diggin's. If them 'ere critical fellers who faulted the last dominie for plowing close to the corn don't git a dose now I'm no profit nor son of a profit." "Hello, Hi," he shouted, "Come here and help me git this here note from Elder Hudson translated. It's cum from Conference consarnin' our new preacher. It reads that the bishop didn't like the way we gaffed Brother Holt; but he wants to please us if possible, and by way of squarin' accounts sends us a 'modern Apollos,' thinkin' maybe the Lord kin use him to reach the sinners of Millbank." Hi answers, "He's probably one o' these rippling-wavelet, purple-sunset pulpiteers. Of course the Lord can use him. He used the foal of an ass once on the Olivet road, and I can't cipher out any sort of creature he can't use."

METHODIST REVIEW.

MARCH, 1902.

ART. I.—THE CHURCH AND EDUCATION.

THE Church is the organized agency by which Christianity is represented in the world. It is the organism in which Christ dwells, by which he is interpreted, and through which he works upon humanity. For this it exists. To this it is adjusted and commissioned. It accomplishes its mission and justifies its existence in so far as it embodies and applies the spirit of Christ.

Christianity is essentially educational. It is the revelation and experience of the deep things of God, which are to be taught to others by those to whom they have been taught by the Spirit. There is no other way by which the world can acquire that knowledge which is able to make it wise unto salvation. Its essence is love—that "new commandment" which human language could not express because the human intellect had no conception of its strength, sweetness, or purity, its depth of meaning, breadth of application, or transforming power. Its means is faith in Jesus Christ as Lord and Saviour: "Unto the Jews a stumbling-block, and unto the Greeks foolishness, but unto them who are called . . . the power of God and the wisdom of God." The sweep of its application is as much a revelation as its essence and means, for uninspired man never grasped the idea of a world-wide religion, a universal brotherhood that includes "an equality of rights upon the one hand and the sovereignty of duty on the other." Max Müller says: "The word 'mankind' never fell from the lips of Socrates, or Plato, or Aristotle. Where the Greeks saw bar-

barians Christianity sees brethren; where the Greeks saw nations Christianity sees mankind."

Its purpose — the development of manhood — is the revealed objective of hope and activity. "The great notion in all ancient empires was that the king or the priest owned the people. The idea of man as a conscious, rational, moral individual, of worth for his own sake, of equal dignity before his Maker, did not exist in antiquity until it came into being through Israel" (Fairbairn). As has been suggested by an eminent and philosophic student of comparative religions, "Buddhism registers itself in a paralyzed personality, Confucianism in an impoverished personality, Hinduism in a degraded personality, and Mohammedism in an enslaved personality," while Christianity calls mankind, individually, to be perfect, to be of good comfort, to be of one mind, to live in peace and fellowship with God. Baron von Humboldt bore testimony to the high importance of this revealed purpose as the focus of all created and uplifting forces when he said: "Governments, religion, property, books are nothing but the scaffolding to build man. Earth holds up to her Maker no fruit like the finished man." The justification of this care and expenditure in the development of man is found in his revealed derivation and destiny: he is born of God for eternal fellowship. In every essential Christianity is a revelation. Its content is so far above human conception that man must be taught its simplest truths, and these are so instinct with life that they in turn educate him, when he receives them, to an ever-deepening understanding of its inexhaustible treasures. "The entrance of thy words giveth light; it giveth understanding to the simple." Therefore, wherever the Church exists in its purity and is loyal to its high functions it is of necessity the great educational force in the world. Such has been its history. Such is its obligation.

All religions are more or less educative, and in both ancient and modern times education has been almost wholly an outgrowth from ecclesiastical life. But the ideals and objectives of education differ as the religions differ. The skep-

ticism of David Hume did not blind him to this characteristic of religion, for he says, "If you find a people without a religion rest assured that they do not differ much from the brute beasts." The schools of Egypt were ecclesiastical, and the schools of the Nile gave character and distinction to those of Greece and Rome. Professor West has pointed out the fact that "The Greeks originated the idea of liberal education, meaning by this the training in selected studies of the most central character, so as to secure harmonious wholeness or integrity of intellectual culture. With that instinct for ideal unity and perfection which appears in everything they touched, they determined what ingredients should enter into their method and material of instruction by determining the ideal end of liberal education. There naturally grew up the idea of a logical sequence and coordination of studies to achieve this end—that is, of a curriculum."

Davidson in his *Aristotle as an Educator* makes clear the distinction between the Greek and Christian ideas attached to the words "civilization" and "education." In the Greco-Roman era the objective of education was to secure perfection in the qualities which make the citizen; the term "citizen" standing for a higher development than the term "man." As citizenship was the privilege of the few, education was exclusive, and purposely limited to the favored class. Christianity has enriched the idea of citizenship by the revelation of the superior dignity of manhood. Under Christian impulse civilization has expanded beyond the boundaries of its mere verbal etymology, and has come to include "all those qualities which constitute the excellence and dignity of man," and education has gained an inclusiveness which provides for the training of the young in "all those things which pertain to the fullest development of man viewed in the light of all his being, all his relationships, all his rights, and all his duties," to himself, his fellows, and his God. "Education in our American sense is the training of a whole people for a worthy and effective manhood and womanhood as the soul of good citizenship." Christianity is inseparable from educa-

tion. A revival of letters has attended every revival of religion. An increased mental activity is one of the concomitants of a quickened spiritual life. Dr. Dorchester calls special attention to the fact that the great Reformation allied itself with the universities. "Wyclif, Tyndall, Luther, Melanchthon, Farel, and Calvin turned their lecture rooms into preaching places, and Wittenberg, Heidelberg, the great Sorbonne, Oxford, Cambridge, and Edinburgh, with their thousands of students, made those countries Protestant. The name of Erasmus best represents the education of the Renaissance, and Luther and Melanchthon that of the Reformation." Green in his *History of the English People,* speaking of John Wesley and the results of his movement, says: "The Methodists themselves were the least results of the Methodist revival. A new philanthropy reformed our prisons, infused clemency and wisdom into our penal laws, abolished the slave trade, and gave the first impulse to popular education."

A striking illustration of the vital relation of the Christian Church to education is found in the history of the United States. Among the four thousand colonists who came to Massachusetts Bay during the first five years, and the twenty thousand Englishmen who came within ten years after the landing of Winthrop, the average of intelligence and culture was as high as it is in this country to-day; for graduates from Oxford and Cambridge constituted as large a percentage of their number as the total number of graduates from all the colleges, weak and strong, in the United States does to our present population—that is, about one half of one per cent. These courageous, cultured, and godly people, who had fled to the wilderness for religious freedom, were the determining factor in shaping the policies and trend of this great republic. "In no body of emigrants up to that date," says Dr. Mayo, "possibly in no body of people of similar origin and surroundings, were there garnered up larger possibilities for the building of a new order of human affairs, in which the sovereign people should take the old place of priests and kings." These master builders, accepting the maxim of Bacon, that "In

knowledge without love there is ever something of malignity," never questioned the divinely appointed relationship between religion and learning, but all believed that religion and morality must give impulse to, be at the foundation and wrought into the substance of, every successful scheme of education. So they promptly founded a system of schools, as they said, "to the end that learning may not be buried in the graves of our forefathers in Church or commonwealth."

Our common school system, which receives such high commendation and is the inspiration or model, and frequently both, of the common schools of all civilized peoples, owes its origin to the Church. As early as 1641 the General Court of the New Haven Colony ordered that "a free school be set up in this town, and our pastor, together with the magistrates, shall consider what yearly allowance shall be given to it out of the common stock of the town, and also what rules or laws are meet to be observed in and about the same." In 1645 elaborate "rules and orders" were adopted by the people of Dorchester for the government of their schools. This is "the first public provision in the world for a free school supported by a direct taxation on the inhabitants of the town." Some of the rules were as follows:

"4ly. Every second day in the weeke, he shall call his schollers together between 12 and one of the Clock to examine them what they have learned on the sabbath day preceding, at wch tyme also he shall take notice of any misdemeanor or outrage that any of his schollers shall have committedd on the sabbath. . . .

"7ly. Every six day of the weeke at 2 of the Clock in the afternoon, he shall catechise his schollers in the principles of the Christian religion. . . .

"8ly. And because all man's indeavor without the blessing of God must needs be fruitlesse and unsuccessful, therefore, It is to be the chief prte of the school mrs religious care to commend his schollers and his Labours amongst them unto God by praying morning and evening, taking Care that his schollers do reverendly attend during the same."

It was left to the "discretion of the elders and seven men for the time being whether the maydes shall be taught with the boys or not."

In New England the church and the common school had the same constituency. In every case the Christian colonists devised and fostered common schools and made distinctive religious teaching therein the chief concern. A plan for public education was inserted by William Penn in his first draft of proprietary government, in 1682, and in the next year Philadelphia was founded and established a school. The preamble of an amended charter granted by Penn in 1711 says, "Whereas, the prosperity and welfare of any people depend, in a great measure, upon the good education of youth and their early introduction in the principles of true religion and virtue, and qualify them to serve their country and themselves by breeding them in reading, writing, and learning of languages and useful arts, and sciences suitable to their sex, age, and degree, which cannot be effected in any manner so well as by erecting public schools for the purpose aforesaid." The preamble of an act establishing the first free school in Charleston, S. C., sets forth the necessity that "a free school be erected for the instruction of youth in grammar and other arts and sciences, and also in the principles of Christian religion, and that several well-disposed Christians, by their last will, had given several sums of money for the foundation of free schools." The first school established in Georgia was by the Moravians. The second was by George Whitefield, "as the seat and nursery of general learning and religious education." The idea was suggested by John Wesley in 1737, and taken up by Whitefield in 1740 with his usual enthusiasm and energy.

But let this suffice; the history of one is in a measure the history of every colony. Starting at various centers with a local initiative, each school had its birthmark and adaptation to local need, but all had two things in common: the religious impulse, and manhood as their objective. The schools have been perfected in organization, placed under systematic su-

provision, furnished with skilled teachers, and developed by the converging influence of many efficient workmen, until "the American common school in its present development is the most original and vital product of the national life." The system still embodies in a modified form the Christian ideals of objective and inclusiveness—the development of manhood and provision for the whole people, "not as a charity but as a right, not for the benefit of any Church or sect but for all"—but there is manifest drift from the central purpose in their original creation, culture of the spirit in loyalty to God.

Our American colleges also owe their founding and maintenance to the spirit and liberality of the churches. Harvard College, founded in 1638, the first institution for the promotion of higher education in the American colonies, was born of religious conviction. The founders said, "It is the one object near our hearts to have an able and learned ministry when those of the present age are laid in their graves." More than forty-five per cent of all the graduates from Harvard for the first one hundred years of its history were ministers, and for the first one hundred and thirty-four years every president, except one, was a minister. William and Mary College, in Virginia, established in 1693, was the second institution for advanced learning in the colonies. It is recorded that Rev. Dr. Blair, to whom the movement owed its success, was deeply affected by the low state of learning and piety in the colony, and, as the most effective means of elevating both, resolved, if possible, to secure the establishment of a college. The General Assembly petitioned the king for an endowment, "to the end that the Church of Virginia may be furnished with a seminary for ministers of the Gospel, and that the youth may be piously educated in good letters and manners, and that the Christian faith may be propagated among the Western Indians, to the glory of Almighty God." Yale College was founded in response to a formal action by a synod of the Churches held at New Haven, in 1698. The preamble of the charter granted by the colonial legislature sets forth that "several well-disposed and Public-spirited Per-

sons, of their sincere Regard to & zeal for the upholding & Propagating of the Christian Protestant Religion by a succession of Learned & Orthodox men, have expressed by Petition their earnest desire that full Liberty and Privilege be granted unto certain Undertakers for the founding, suitable endowing & ordering a Collegiate School within His Majesty's Colony of Connecticut, where Youth may be instructed in the Arts & Sciences, who through the blessing of Almighty God may be fitted for Public employment both in Church and Civil State." Every president for more than one hundred years was a minister. So with all the colleges founded in the colonial period. Princeton was founded in 1746 by the Presbyterians; Washington and Lee University in 1749 by the Hanover Presbytery; Columbia, known as King's College until 1784, was founded by the Episcopalians in 1759; Brown University in 1764 by the Baptists; Rutgers in 1766 by the Dutch Reformed Church; Dartmouth in 1770 by the Congregationalists, and Hampden-Sidney in 1776 by the Presbyterians. The University of Pennsylvania, founded in 1747, is the only apparent exception. Professor Thompson, a member of its faculty and an honored alumnus, said, "Even my own university, the first in America without definite denominational connection, owed to the Christian ministry both the ablest of its teachers and the bulk of its students, and it recognized its close relations to the Churches by giving the senior minister of each denomination a seat in its board of trustees, while the city churches took up a collection every year for its support."

The educational spirit of our country was generated and nourished by the Christian Church. That which was universally true in the colonial period of our history has been predominantly true ever since. Our colleges and universities were projected and are maintained in large measure by the various Churches. The Report of the Commissioner of Education for 1884 showed the total number of colleges and universities to be 370. I quote from the report of 1884 because the latest reports do not indicate the denominational

control of colleges for women. Of these 370 colleges and universities 309, or over eighty-three per cent, are under denominational control, while only 61, or less than seventeen per cent, are undenominational, and 23 of these are State institutions. The students in denominational colleges and universities were 25,948, while the students in the undenominational colleges and universities were only 6,819. The denominational colleges and universities in 1830 were seventy-one per cent of the whole number; in 1884 they were eighty-three per cent. The students in the denominational colleges and universities in 1830 were seventy-four per cent of the whole number, and in 1884 they were seventy-nine per cent.

Until the middle of the nineteenth century the clergy of the different religious bodies were the actual leaders of every department of education. About that time a movement set in against religious instruction, stimulated upon the one hand by a cry for liberalism by those who were averse to the ethics of the Bible, and on the other by the Roman Catholic hierarchy declaiming against schools which receive State or municipal funds giving "sectarian" instruction, this being a covert but direct attack upon our educational system. This movement threatens the stability of our republic and increases the responsibility of the Church to maintain her colleges, for religion is essential to national life.

Rousseau, the skeptical but philosophic social reformer, says, "Never was a city founded that did not have religion for its basis." Plutarch had reached a similar generalization more than sixteen centuries before, and wrote: "There never was a city of atheists. You may travel all over the world, and you will find cities without walls, without king, without land, without theater or gymnasium, but you will nowhere find a city without a god, without prayer, without oracle, without sacrifice. Sooner may a city stand without foundations than a city without belief in the gods. This is the bond of all society and the pillar of all legislation." England's great constitutional lawyer, Lord Erskine, said, "Depend

upon it the world cannot be held together without morals, nor can morals maintain their station in the human heart without religion, which is the corner stone of the fabric of human virtue."

Christianity is not political, but personal; it is not institutional, but inspirational. Its point of direct application is not upon the periphery, but at the heart. Its immediate function is not with the State, but with the individual. It has to do with personality, with character. It is for children, youth, young men, and young women that the Church has organized and must maintain its schools. The necessity for the Christian training of this class is as urgent as at any time in the world's history, possibly more urgent than ever before, for childhood and youth have not changed. Children are, as they always have been, born without character, but possessing aptitudes and impressible; born without experience, and in absolute ignorance, but with an almost insatiable acquisitiveness; born into enlarged and enlarging opportunities, with temptations to immorality multiplied and increasing in subtlety. Environment is more potential than heredity. Purely secular education is not a moral, regenerating agency. Mr. Sumner stated the case with great terseness when he said: "If we would fortify we must sanctify. The citadel must be a sanctuary." Instruction is construction, and the Church is responsible for the Christian culture of its youth. If this cannot be had, direct and efficient, in State or non-Christian schools the Church must provide and maintain Christian schools. Its responsibility may not be voided. During attendance upon the primary and secondary schools the child is usually at home, and the public instruction, with great care, may be adequately supplemented by home counsel and influence; but the critical period in a young person's life is in his college days, when he is discovering himself in the use of his powers and is looking upon varied and, to him, novel fields of thought, investigation, and relationship. It is of first importance, while his principles and purposes are in flux and he is reviewing funda-

mentals, that he shall lay or strengthen enduring foundations of character, quadrate his life to the eternal principles, and stand in perfect alignment with God and the best interests of society. In order to this he needs a Christian atmosphere, honest and fearless discussion, with criticism and instruction which are loyal to the truths of revelation and constructive of faith.

The individual is not all body; athletics is not enough. He is not all mind; intellectual training is not sufficient. He is not all spirit; doctrinal orthodoxy alone will not suffice to make him a man. All these are necessary to manliness. The prayer meeting or Young Men's Christian Association is not a substitute for libraries or laboratories any more than athletics or a glee club can take the place of instruction in the classics and sciences. The Church owes it to her young people, to herself, and to the State to see to it that her school of whatever class—high school, college, or university—shall be true to its name, and at least as good as, and, if possible, better than, those it seeks to substitute. She has no right to insist upon or expect patronage for an inferior school, no matter by what name it is called or by whom indorsed. It would be wrong to stunt the student life of her youth and to rob them of possible development and efficiency by requiring or tempting them to accept less than they are able to get elsewhere. There is no Methodist, Presbyterian, Baptist, Protestant Episcopal, or Roman Catholic arithmetic or algebra, spelling or rhetoric, chemistry or biology. If these and kindred subjects are taught it should not be as a bait to secure an opportunity for adding a Bible lesson, but they should be so taught that their full value may be realized and the student helped by the study and knowledge of them. If this were all, and these were the only things necessary for youth to acquire, there would be no justification for locking up large sums of money in duplicating appliances already in existence. A Church school implies more than the culture of the intellect. The purpose of a Church school is to develop cultured Christian character. It assumes responsibility for

more than intellectual training; it includes the culture of the spiritual nature also. Those who have contributed to the founding and endowment of such schools purposed to provide for and to secure Christian culture. This was the condition stated or implied when they gave their sympathy and their money, and those who accepted the trust assumed this responsibility as a part of their obligation. A Christian school should insist that truth is the only object worthy of human quest, that truth as perceived should be the law of individual living, and every discussion and all the instruction should be from the Christian view-point.

No man should stultify himself by teaching what he does not believe, in a Christian school or anywhere else; neither should funds contributed for a specific purpose be perverted to pay for instruction subversive of the object for which they were given and accepted. A person who is uncertain as to his faith in the fundamentals of Christianity, and is without a clear experience of the living verities taught in God's word, is out of place in the faculty of a school founded and maintained for the purpose of developing Christian character. No matter how thoroughly he may have mastered the details of the special subject he would teach, if he is not imbued with the spirit of Christ and is not living a sanctified life he is unfit to be a teacher in such a school; as much so as a sanctified man would be who is ignorant of the special subject in which he would give systematic instruction. Personality is infectious, and the more a man is respected for his specialty the more potent will be the influence of his life. It would be a crime for a Church to permit the undisciplined youth intrusted to her schools for Christian culture to be taught the subtle negations and destructive insinuations of unbelief by one who speaks with her authority from the vantage ground of a professor's chair. The trustees who would support such a teacher with such funds should be amenable to an action at law for perversion of trust. In a Christian school all instruction should be constructive, and not destructive, of Christian faith and character. A young person resident in

such a school should be as well guarded from temptation, required to order his life as carefully, be as regularly instructed in Bible truths and as wisely aided to a religious life as one of his age and development would be in a private home where everything is consistent with the canons of conduct required by Christianity. These obligations are implied and assumed in offering to provide residence to children of the Church.

The Church owes it to herself to do well her part in equipping the young for their opportunities and responsibilities. She owes it to her ministry to make it possible that they shall have the outlook level with earth's trained champions and the uplook of a strong rational faith and fellowship centered in God. She owes it to her laity to provide for them and their children such facilities for the thorough culture of the whole man—body, mind, and spirit—as shall be necessary to train those intrusted to her in knowledge, wisdom, integrity, and righteousness. The Church must continue to assert its value to the national life by obvious intellectual as well as moral strength.

The two dangers which most threaten Christian schools are, on the one hand, to use a denominational shibboleth as a substitute for thoroughness and, on the other hand, to reduce to an infinitesimal quantity the distinctions which should differentiate them from purely secular schools. The Christian school should "rank so high in standards, equipment, and efficiency that no secular institution can point the finger of scorn at its instructors, equipment, or *alumni*. We must fearlessly show that we welcome all knowledge, that we seek to learn and teach the very best, but to knowledge we add all else that is of good report." Bishop Galloway has admirably said: "The maxim of the Puritans, 'The proper nurse for Moses is Moses's mother,' may be applied most aptly to the cause of education in the American commonwealth. Our school and college systems are the creations of Christianity. It was not until the Christian Church fought and won the battle for education that the world discovered its vast excellence and counted its institutions worthy of munificent en-

dowment. Victor Hugo has said that 'He who opens the door of a schoolhouse closes the door of a jail.' That depends upon who keeps the school and what is taught there. A schoolhouse may become a place for polishing fiends and graduating outlaws. It is not the number but the character of our schools; not how many children attend but who teaches them, and what they are taught, that type and measure their influence for good."

The leaders of the near future are being trained in the colleges of to-day. The world's progress waits for men and women who can bring things to pass, and usually these are college-trained men and women. There have been brilliant exceptions, and there will be others, but these rarely endowed men would have been benefited by more systematic and broader training. The bulk of humanity are not of the exceptional class. Mr. Lincoln once remarked, "The Lord must be very fond of common people; he made so many of them." Multitudes of these are lifted into the first rank of efficiency by college training. "The Christian college is the expression of the Church's faith in its own future as a permanent factor in national life."

During the formative days of college life many of the strongest and most enduring friendships are formed, the keenest sympathies of after years find their rootage; and subsequent benevolence looks back to these conditions, rich in precious memories and constructive influences, to make monumental and loving acknowledgment. Millions of dollars have been given by college graduates to their *alma mater*, outside the Churches that nurtured them, simply because their steps were not guided to the halls of her institutions when they were starting to seek their advanced education.

The triumphs of Christianity in this dawning century will be intellectual and spiritual. These have been joined together in divine wedlock; let no man put them asunder.

John F. Goucher,

Art. II.—THE RELIGIOUS USE OF WATER.

Man's mental restiveness and ingenuity are as easily discernable in the history of a doctrine as in the development of forms of mechanism. Out of unshapely masses of ore he builds the loom and printing press. With equal dexterity he erects, out of a single sentence, an institution that has dethroned rulers, built inquisitions, subdued consciences. In the one field, however, his ingeniousness has been restricted by physical facts and laws. In the other, fancy and caprice, imperfect observation and judgment, false philosophy and a froward will have wrought most fantastically, with only the long-deferred judgment of time to certify that the granite base has been folly and the superstructure a dream. The venerable rite of baptism, like all other forms of truth's expression, has been subject to that speculative tendency as influenced by environment, and has in consequence suffered amazing perversions. From the character of Him who commanded the baptism of all nations we may prejudge that to the ordinance there would be a noble simplicity of form, in it a rich content of meaning, and through it a fine aid to Christliness. Yet has it been both devotional and a ground of controversy, irenical and the occasion of religious division.

Involved as its forms and truths have become, it may be no part of wisdom to leave the numberless twigs and branches, pass also along the boughs, until in the bole, from which all arise and which holds the common material of all, we may find the great, single, germinal principle; for long before this divine formulation of Christian baptism the religious function of water was recognized. Before elaborate mechanisms had been constructed or thought had begun to play with tremendous realities the heart was learning the most profound lesson of life. It was seeking character where with God attractions are the strongest and repulsions most intense. Man sought cleansing. He found its agent and symbol. We meet this elemental characteristic of bap-

tism very early and in unexpected places. The instinct of the sinful soul seized upon it.

> In even savage bosoms
> There are longings, yearnings, strivings,
> For the good they comprehend not.

And

> The feeble hands and helpless,
> Groping blindly in the darkness,
> Touch God's right hand in the darkness
> And are lifted up and strengthened,

and oriental heathen antiquity touched God's right hand here, in the religious use of water. The astronomer thinks God's thoughts after him; so does the geologist, the chemist. Indeed, nature is a partial autobiography of God. It is undergirded with his thought and purpose. True, our full-orbed religious system ignores nature. Christianity bases itself upon revealed truths. The relations of spirit to Spirit are immediate. But the neglect of the world has strengthened an impression, begotten elsewhere, that leaf and stream and song bespeak only materialism. As though the Supernatural were limited to a supernatural mode of self-expression! Yet Butler long ago assured us that our earth of ice and summer, of cyclonic storms and grateful quiet, is a depository of some permanent truth; and John Fiske fairly sings of "the Deity that is revealed in every pulsation of the wondrously rich and beautiful life of the universe." Mind and its intent are discoverable in modes of action that we call law; possibly a stronger lens would disclose divine ideas in the qualities of things themselves. Volitions that are insulated and exceptional are styled miraculous and are referred to Deity as their sufficient cause; perhaps a lily's stem lifts on high one of life's most sacred truths, and the very mountains are God's voice declaring the stability of the divine character. Drummond sought identity in the truths of the seen and the unseen; we are content with symbolism, likeness. Eden is more than the vestibule to the paradise of God; it is the poem that suggests the

> Boughs that cannot shed their leaves,
> Nor ever bid the spring adieu.

Water is a sign that points to a far-off land. Soon there will be no more sea, but the purity symbolized will be everlasting. Earth itself is a mighty parable. Seed, sun, darkness, light, mountain, grass, bread, bird have been selected from its repertory of symbolism. Christian baptism passes back into nature. Indeed, one of the assurances of the deepness of our faith is the thorough interweaving of its roots with the God-thought world on which it lives. In his zealous and commendable pursuit of knowledge man has discovered many divine ideas in old earth's crust, but to his religious yearnings the sea has returned a most helpful symbol. The modern, yet purely Greek, poet writes of

> The moving waters at their priestlike task
> Of pure ablution round earth's human shores.

In water, then, men perceived a foreshadowing of the higher, that was to come, and a hint of the requirement of the kingdom. So did heathendom abound in hand-washings, feet-washings, various forms of ablution, and bathings in sacred streams. Cleanness is the analogue of holiness; dust and dirt have some kinship with evil. But the symbol has been accepted as the fact, and the water itself has been called holy. About the world are innumerable fonts whose purifying contents are supposed to reach the very soul. Springs and pools of living water were not mere adjuncts to ancient temples. Within the sacred walls there was nothing that held within itself more potent spiritual influences. Long before there was "a fountain opened to the house of David and to the inhabitants of Jerusalem for sin and for uncleanness" multitudes of earnest souls, whose heritage of thought gave assurance that sin and uncleanness restrained from sympathetic alliance with God, were addicted to bathing in flowing water. While Naaman had prepared himself for the spectacular his angry contention was not relative to the cleansing function of water, but to the necessity of using an alien stream: "Are not Abanah and Pharpar, rivers of Damascus, better than all the waters of Israel? may I not wash in them, and be clean?" Ovid, witnessing the water rite, may sneer,

> Ah, easy fools, to think that a whole flood
> Of water e'er can purge the stain of blood,

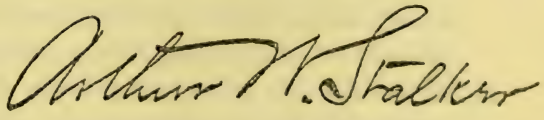
but everywhere man has essayed his own cleansing through what he conceived to be a sacramental medium. And were that element not accredited with such power it was at least accepted as a token of the fact of cleanness; for Roman Pilate "took water, and washed his hands before the multitude, saying, 'I am innocent.'" That the minds of early and far-scattered races should have groped toward like weapons of offense is of interest to the anthropologist; but that almost universal man—New Zealanders, Livonians, Icelanders, Peruvians, Etruscans, Egyptians, Brahmans, Greeks, Romans—should have perceived and felt a religious significance in water is matter of more than curiosity to the Christian thinker. It has been not fanciful, but based on an intuitive recognition of a divine idea more fully to be revealed. Its content is limited, but it holds within itself potentialities. The scientist sees more than an isolated fact in the red pigment spot that constitutes the primitive eye. To him it is prophetic of man's visual organ with all its complexities of structure and its splendid capacities. Nature is full of hints. Dr. Gordon finds in "the struggle for the life of others" a foretoken of Him who gave his life for humanity; likewise those early uses of water in its cleansing function may be declared anticipative of that rite which holds the last possible meaning of its symbolism, Christian baptism.

In Israel that tendency noted so generally throughout mankind is confirmed by positive teaching. The findings of the heart are not repudiated, but confirmed. God affixes his seal. Speaking broadly, the spiritual is an element difficult of apprehension. God graciously recognized this in the training of Israel. He reinforced the spiritual by signs. Heart purity was figured in the purifications by water. "Clean" is one of the tremendous words of the Old Testament. It covers spirit. Eternal Wisdom gave no arbitrary ordinance. Rather, one as Creator and Teacher, he designated water as the element that inherently held the idea of purity. Before

the giving of the law the Israelites at Sinai's base were commanded to "wash their clothes" in preparation for the presence of holiness. Water was to be sprinkled upon the Levites and they were to "wash their clothes." "Then will I sprinkle clean water upon you, and ye shall be clean." The ceremonial use of water was wide in its range, being applied variously to tent, vessels, apparel, everything in common use, as well as to proselytes and to persons who became "unclean." The natural symbolism of water observed by heathenism is employed in Israel under positive divine direction. There is an advance with John the Baptist. He subjected its use to some change—undoubtedly limiting its application to mankind, giving it the definite form of baptism, and adding intensity to its ethical idea. John belonged to the prophetic order and was vigorous in his insistence on righteousness. If in the growth of formalism every ceremony of Judaism had lost its real content, and failed of its original purpose, those that came to be baptized of him must righteously face the arrears of their years. A renunciation of the stained past is with him the emphasized fact. It was the acknowledgment and the removal of moral defilement through symbolism. John's baptism is credited, then, with only a negative function. Perhaps the accent should be placed there. But no such negative relation to the past can exist apart from the acceptance of a new principle or law. John did, in his rite, face the past. His ringing cry was, "I indeed baptize you with water unto repentance." That dealt with yesterdays.

Then came the ministry of our Lord, who revealed the inner meaning of things to such an extent that the world itself seemed sacramental. Bread never meant so much, or grass, or light, or vine. These are made suggestive of the facts and laws of the kingdom. How will it be with the ceremonial use of water? Yet throughout the ministry of Jesus, John's conceptions and method of baptism appear to have been followed. No new meaning was developed. The religious significance of the rite was still in reference to the past; from its defilement men were cleansed. Only after the

resurrection, and immediately preceding the ascension, did Jesus carry this symbolism to its highest possibility of expression and therein fulfill the Baptist's declaration that the ordinance as administered by him was inadequate to the Christian idea. Then a new formula was given which was forever to be identified with the ceremony and give it character. The advance is positive, decided. The natural symbol of purity is retained, the sinful past is to be renounced, but the child of God is now to face a pure future as a member of the kingdom of the triune God. With the administration of the water men were baptized "into the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost." Eternity lies before and with sufficient inspiration and power from the Infinite, whose name we love and whose service we accept. It is a far cry from a frenzied plunge into the Ganges to a dedication so thoughtful, so moral, so complete. Yet God is back of all, patiently compassing his great purpose to help mankind to the purity of heart that has the promise of a long vision of himself.



Art. III.—JUSTIN MARTYR.

Justin was a Gentile, but born in Samaria, near Jacob's well, about 110 A. D. He was martyred about 163 A. D. He seems to have been of well-to-do parentage; traveled much, had Hellenic education, and was from the first an earnest seeker after truth and God. This is why he became a student of philosophy. And in philosophy he refused to pause till he secured the object of his quest, true knowledge of God. He left his first teacher, a Stoic, because that philosopher thought instruction in the knowledge of God a thing unnecessary; a peripatetic to whom he attached himself seemed to care more for money than anything else, so Justin turned from him; a Pythagorean, who seemed capable of instructing him, dismissed him because he was not acquainted with music, astronomy, and geometry; at last he fell in with the Platonists and expected soon to attain the end of Plato's philosophy and look upon God.

But one day an old man, a stranger, met him in the retreat by the sea where he was accustomed to meditate alone. Some words betrayed Justin's claim to be a philosopher, the old man took up his part of the conversation after the manner of Socrates, led Justin to see the impotence of all philosophy, called his attention to the prophecies of the Old Testament and to Christianity, exhorted him to pray that God would open up to him the gates of light, and departed. Justin saw him no more, but betook himself to the study of the prophets and the precepts and life of the Christians, and was thus led into what he ever considered the true philosophy and himself became a Christian. This passing from philosophy to the Christian religion by the bridge of prophecy supported by Christian precept and life was all the more easy and natural for Justin because he had all along been impressed with the severity and purity of the Christians. In this, his own story of his conversion, we see the reason why he appealed so often and so strongly in his apologies to Old Testament prophecy

and its fulfillment, to the pure precepts of the Christian religion, and to Christian constancy under persecution. He never forgot how these wrought together for his own salvation.

But other explanations of Justin's work and methods are found in the needs of the situation which he faced. These were peculiar. The Church was still a small, persecuted sect; the Jewish reaction against Christianity was at its height; "the power of the Roman throne was combined with the passion of the people in opposition to the religion of Christ;" philosophers, priests, artisans, and tradesmen were joined by religious impostors as enemies of Christ; Gnosticism was rife, and Ebionism and other errors were abroad; the Church was passing from the apostolic age to the age of the Church fathers; the seat of authority in the Church was in transition from tradition to written records. In such an age as this Justin passed over from Platonism to Christianity, retaining his philosopher's garb and some marks of Platonic influence. There is little ground for thinking that his life and work bore very much immediate fruit; he spoke rather for ages yet to come, though he aimed at the needs of the situation sketched above. Apology was demanded, and right heroically he took up the defense of Christianity and made war on Judaism, paganism, and heresy, leaving to us the earliest extant works of this character. To his task he brought a prodigious memory, stored with the results of his long search for truth, and a remarkable knowledge of Scripture, classic literature, and tradition. Other qualifications also were his. He was a thinker of no mean type, had a keen sense of justice and of the eternal fitness of things, gave forth his arguments and his theology from his heart, and sealed his convictions with the devotion and courage of martyrdom. He had found in Christianity the true philosophy and a new law of holy living and dying. His death meant more to the Church, perhaps, than his life, but through his works he still bears witness to the truth and authority of that religion to which he gave himself in unreserved dedication. We turn now to these.

Only three assuredly genuine works of Justin's remain to

us; two Apologies and the Dialogues with the Jew Trypho complete the list. As hinted above, his work was mostly apologetic and polemic because of the needs of the times. His first apology is addressed to the emperor Antoninus, and in it he speaks of the birth of Christ as having taken place one hundred and fifty years before. Critics generally think that the writings we now have of his were written not much before or after 150 A. D. Since this, as has been noted, was a transition period, and since we have only a few writings that date from this period touching the life and history of the Church, Justin's importance as a witness for the Church, its Scripture and its doctrines at this time, is very great.

Unless it be the Didache, Justin is the first of all authorities who give us reliable accounts of the public worship and eucharist of the Church. To him baptism is a regeneration for which preparation is made by instruction and fasting and prayer, and those who are accepted as candidates for baptism are such "as are persuaded and believe" the Christian teaching to be true "and undertake to live accordingly." Such are "led to where there is water" and "receive the washing with water in the name of God, the Father and Lord of the universe, and of our Saviour Jesus Christ, and of the Holy Spirit." After this, those thus baptized are brought to the company of the "brethren," prayer is offered, and salutations given with a kiss. "There is then brought to the president of the brethren bread and a cup of wine mixed with water." Next comes a prayer by the president, apparently extempore, in which thanksgiving is offered and supplications are made to be counted worthy to receive these elements, to which all say Amen. Deacons then distribute to those present portions of the bread and wine mixed with water, and carry portions to the absent. After this they remind each other of these things, keep together, give thanks for all things, and the rich help the needy. On Sundays they gather together in country and town, the Memoirs of the Apostles and the writings of the prophets are read, the president makes an address, and the eucharist follows, just as it does a baptismal ceremony and

reception of a member. At the close of all included in this service contributions freely made are received and devoted to the use of the needy.

Justin gives us scarcely any idea of Church government. It was the life and teachings of the Church that were called in question by her enemies and he exerted himself to show her blameless in these; the form was of minor importance to him and to his hearers or readers. Hence he everywhere demands investigation of the lives of those called Christians, and claims the right of trial and justice for them as it was granted to others. He sought by plain reason to show the injustice of the ruler who condemned any without a hearing and simply because of his name. Moreover, he shows how unjust it is to hold the whole Church guilty because one calling himself Christian did wrong. He claimed that Christians were among the best of subjects, and that Christianity had made good citizens and noble and pure men and women of those who had before been anything else. He proposed to meet any and all on the common ground of reason, and thus show the superiority of the Church in life, precepts, and doctrines generally.

The superior life is seen in her chastity as against the fornication of her enemies, in the purity of the marriage bond as against its utter disregard and the unnamable practices of men, in simplicity of worship and devotion to God as against magic arts and service of idols, in the sharing of wealth as against avaricious acquirements, in fellowship and love for one another as against hatred and malice, in the unrevengeful spirit of the persecuted as against the injustice of the persecutor, in constancy in face of death as against the changefulness of others in religion, in temperance as against drunkenness; in short, if any who is not a Christian measure in any wise up to the standard of the lives of Christians he is far above his countrymen and receives aid from the Christian source of strength, the divine Logos. So also of the ethical precepts of the Christians, which Justin draws principally from the Sermon on the Mount. He does not deny that others have many admirable precepts, but he attributes this to the

fluence of the Logos of God, who has partially dwelt in and ught the nobler men of all ages, and to their borrowing from s and the prophets. Thus, he says, Plato is indebted to s. The superiority of Christian doctrine proper is seen several ways. It is superior in that it teaches unswervingly immortality of the soul, which is a doctrine with enough tery and strangeness about it to cause Justin to spend time in bringing it and its supplementary doctrine of resurrection of the dead into clear relief; it is superior in at necessity and fate have no place in it and it gives a mean- to good and evil, which terms are meaningless if man ply does what is decreed and can do no other; it is superior that it shows how God cares for men, takes an interest in on-going of the world, and is neither a nonentity nor an ntee God, either of which suppositions would tend to do y the distinction between good and evil; it is superior in t it disdains gods made with hands and gods that are moved like passion with man, and beasts and reptiles.

Justin's anthropology deserves closer consideration than it in the bare notice above. He expressly recognizes that an comes into this world, and was at the first created, with- any choice of his own. But he asserts that God made the man race with the power of thought and of choosing the th and of doing right; man's responsibility and the dis- tion between good and evil in his actions are justly made ndent upon his freedom of choice; he is good or evil ac- ding to his choice, and will be rewarded accordingly in ven or in hell. The world and seasons and fruits of earth re made for the benefit of man and are due to the goodness God. These things were committed to man, but man was mitted to the care of angels. And here we come upon an- r doctrine that will be noticed at some length, Justin's of angels and demons. He seems to be unable to see so noble a creature, capable of reigning in heaven with Son of God, could be primarily and solely responsible for utter depravity and sinfulness manifested in the lives of hen and in the persecutions that came upon Christians,

and in his discussion he comes face to face with the problem of evil in the world and makes the angels responsible for its origin. He says that "God committed the care of men and of all things under heaven to angels;" that "God in the beginning made the race of angels and men with free will;" that "the angels transgressed this appointment," through love of women became fathers of demons, and subdued the human race to themselves by magical writings, by fears and punishments, and by teaching men to offer them sacrifices and incense and libations; and that "among men they sowed murders, wars, adulteries, intemperate deeds, and all wickedness." Among these wicked spirits or angels Satan is chief. "They subdue all who make no strong opposing effort for their own salvation." "It is by the influence of wicked demons that earnest men, such as Socrates, and the like, suffer persecution and bonds;" the myths of the heathen were due to them and their gods were inventions of the demons, or else the very demons themselves; these still mislead men, cause persecutions, and raise up heresies. They are thus bent on the downfall of man, and work his ruin if he is not strong against them. Man's choice and God's help, however, are sufficient to insure victory over these, though it be at the cost of life. The divine Logos was manifested for the double purpose of saving men and subduing these demons, who now oppose the work of Christ but will finally be sent to eternal punishment. Thus does Justin transcend the task he set himself—to prove "that the demons invented the myths of the heathen in order to lead men to their ruin"—and gives an explanation of the evil in the world that puts the responsibility upon man in that he yields to the instigations of demons, and upon demons in that they were the first to transgress and still oppose the will of God and influence men for evil.

In answer to the charge of atheism, which was made against the Church, Justin gives us his doctrine of God, with some features that come out also in his comparison of heathen and Christian worship. He says that God is unbegotten and ineffable and impassible; that his glory and form also are

ineffable; that he needs nothing at man's hands, seeing that he himself is the provider of all things; that no one can escape his notice; that he is the Creator of all, unchangeable and eternal; that he cannot be adequately named. Justin does not say that there are three persons in the Godhead, but he does say repeatedly that Christians worship the Father in the first place, the Son in the second, and the prophetic Spirit in the third. He also says that the Logos, or Son, is divine, that he is the firstborn of God, and that being the first-begotten Word of God he is even God. Not so much is said of the Holy Spirit, save in his prophetic office; yet it seems clear that Justin believed in the doctrine of the Trinity, though perhaps he had no need to work out such a formula as is now in common use. Sometimes, however, he seems to confuse Father, Son, and Spirit in his references to historical occurrences and in his interpretation of prophecy. Justin's doctrine of the divine Logos will be treated in connection with his testimony to Scripture, to which we now turn for brief examination.

For, however much pleasure and profit we gain by seeing reflected in Justin the times in which he lived, the customs of the Church in those days, and the doctrines that prevailed where he sojourned, our chief interest centers in his testimony to our New Testament Scriptures, though he himself never once thought of being any help to the world in this respect. Our interest arises largely from the fact that he lived at a time when the Church had already shifted its position as to the most trustworthy basis of authority for the record of the life of Jesus and the doctrines of the Church, or else was in process of shifting it. Papias had asked minutely about the teachings and sayings of the apostles from verbal witnesses; Ignatius had appealed to tradition and to his own inspiration and authority received from above; but when Justin lived those who had known the apostles were doubtless all dead, tradition was at third or fourth hand and becoming untrustworthy and inaccurate, and a more sure witness was needed because of the heresies that were raging, specially

Gnosticism. Hence the writings of the Church were coming to be the chief and only depository of the faith. We wish to know what these authoritative writings were, and Justin is called in to bear witness.

His testimony to the existence of such authoritative writings is very clear. He quotes often from what he calls the Memoirs of the Apostles, which he informs us were put on an equality with the writings of the Old Testament. They were read in the public worship of the Christians each Sunday on a par with the prophets, and were generally accepted as Scripture. We might also have concluded as much from Justin's own use of such writings had he not given this positive statement, for he supports his statements by reference to these and draws from them the precepts which he affirms were held by the Christians and were given by the Saviour himself. He sometimes speaks of these Memoirs as the Gospel, sometimes as the Gospels. But this is common with us to-day in speaking of the four evangelists; they are one in four; the portrait is the same drawn by four different artists, each in some true sense supplementary to the other three. He calls them Memoirs drawn up by the apostles and those that followed them, once when he quotes (seemingly) from Luke; thus accurately designating (if he had them in mind) our four Gospels—two written by apostles, the other two due to Luke and Mark, companions of apostles. In them he finds a record, or the record, of the life of Christ and all that concerns him. Dr. Westcott thus summarizes Justin's notices of these writings:

> They were many, yet one; they were called Gospels; they are a record of all concerning Jesus; they were admitted by Christians generally; they were read in service; they were apostolic and sub-apostolic; they were of apostolic authority.

But Justin does not tell us who were the authors of these writings, so that much dispute has been had as to whether or not these were in very truth our own Gospels, Matthew, Luke, Mark, and John.

At the outset presumption is in favor of the affirmative.

and the ordinary reader of Justin would not hesitate to say that he quotes from our Gospels. The critics also have found positive reasons for agreeing with the common people. Justin's omission of the names of the authors of the Memoirs has been accounted for by showing that they would have been of no use to him in his arguments with heathen and the Jew. Others also, whose acceptation of our Gospels is undoubted, have done the same, such as Irenæus, Clement, and Origen. Careful scholars do the same to-day. A few instances in which he coincides with the Gnostic or other heretical writings cannot prove that he used these, since this also can be paralleled among the fathers and the men of to-day. Neither need Justin's testimony be weakened at all by his references to the Sibylline Oracles, Hystaspes, and the Acts of Pilate. These are few and unimportant, and characteristic of the age. Justin's predominant use of the prophecies of the Old Testament is not due to his higher estimate of their value and authority as compared with the Gospels, but to their superior fitness and force in arguing with Jews, who accepted them, and with heathen, who could best appreciate the force of prophecy fulfilled. One other point should be noted before we enter into an examination of the positive evidence which Justin gives concerning the Gospels—his manner of quotation in general. No one questions his acquaintance with Plato, and no one seeks to prove that his text of Plato was one that has been lost, yet in the third chapter of his first Apology he quotes Plato as "some one of the ancients" who "said somewhere," "Unless both rulers and ruled philosophize it is impossible to make states blessed." Plato really said, however, "Unless either the philosophers reign (*βασιλεύσωσιν*) in the states, or the kings philosophize, the states have no rest from evils" (Rep. 5, 473 D). No one questions his acceptation of the Old Testament as of divine authority, but in quoting from it he sometimes confuses authors, putting Zephaniah for Zechariah; sometimes he reverses the order of words, and mixes quotations from different places as though they stood in the original just as he quotes them. Thus he gives the

following as a prophecy spoken as from the person of Christ: "They cast lots upon my vesture, and pierced my hands and feet. And I lay down and slept, and rose (*καὶ ἀνέστην*) again, because the Lord sustained me." But this is a mixture of quotations from two psalms (Psa. xxii, 17, 19, and iii, 6), and the order of words is changed. The Septuagint (which was undoubtedly the text used by Justin) reads as follows: "They pierced my hands and feet" (Psa. xxii, 17); "Upon my vesture they cast lots" (Psa. xxii, 19); "I lay down and slept: I was raised (*ἐξηγέρθην*) because the Lord will help me" (Psa. iii, 6). Inaccurate quotations are numerous; scarcely any are just exactly as the Septuagint save the longer ones, which, though inaccuracies are plentiful in them, are accurate enough to lead us to believe that he had the text before him and copied from it. Such are his quotations of the second and third psalms and the fifty-third chapter of Isaiah, and many more. It seems agreed on all hands that Justin quoted largely from memory, omitted to give names of authors of classic literature and of Old Testament writings, and often struck at the sense of his author without seeking exact verbal agreement.

Armed with these conclusions regarding Justin's quotations in general and specially his use of the Septuagint, we come to look into his testimony to the New Testament, from which we may expect to find him quoting in the same characteristic manner. Nor are we disappointed.

He [Christ] taught thus: "If ye love them that love you, what new thing do ye? for even fornicators do this. But I say unto you, Pray for your enemies, and love them that hate you, and bless them that curse you, and pray for them that despitefully use you."

Of communicating to the needy,

He [Christ] said: "Give to him that asketh, and from him that would borrow turn not away: for if ye lend to them of whom ye hope to receive, what new thing do ye? even the publicans do this. Lay not up for yourselves treasure upon earth, where moth and rust doth corrupt, and where robbers break through; but lay up for yourselves treasures in heaven, where neither moth nor rust doth corrupt." "Be ye kind and merciful, as your Father also is

kind and merciful, and maketh his sun to rise on sinners, and the righteous, and the wicked. Take no thought what ye shall eat, or what ye shall put on: are ye not better than birds and beasts? and God feedeth them. Take no thought, therefore, what ye shall eat, or what ye shall put on, for your heavenly Father knoweth that ye have need of these things. But seek ye the kingdom of heaven, and all these things shall be added unto you. For where his treasure is, there also is the mind of a man." "Do not these things to be seen of men; otherwise ye have no reward from your Father which is in heaven."

This long list of quotations cannot be traced to any one Gospel, and some of the phrases used are not in any Gospel we have; but when we remember Justin's habit of throwing together quotations from several places, and of giving the sense instead of quoting verbatim, we have no trouble in seeing here a combination of Matthew's account of the Sermon on the Mount, given in the fifth and sixth chapters, with Luke's account, given in chapter six of his Gospel. Where but in Mark could Justin have got the information that Jesus called the sons of Zebedee Boanerges? Where but in Luke did he learn why Joseph and Mary were in Bethlehem at the Nativity? Where but in Matthew did he learn to quote the words of Jeremiah about Rachel weeping for her children as having reference to the murder of the children at Bethlehem, and in agreement with Matthew as against the different reading of the Septuagint? These seem to me, as they do to Dr. Salmon, to give direct positive evidence that the Memoirs Justin used were the Gospels we have. But this conviction is strengthened by his account of the infancy of Jesus, which we give in Dr. Westcott's summary:

He tells us that Christ was descended from Abraham through Jacob, Judah, Phares, Jesse, and David; that the angel Gabriel was sent to announce his birth to the Virgin Mary; that this was a fulfilment of the prophecy of Isaiah (vii, 14); that Joseph was forbidden in a vision to put away his espoused wife when he was so minded; that our Saviour's birth at Bethlehem had been foretold by Micah; that his parents went thither from Nazareth, where they dwelt, in consequence of the enrollment of Cyrenius; that as they could not find a lodging in the village they lodged in a cave close to it, where Christ was born and laid by Mary in a manger; that there wise men from Arabia, guided by a star, worshiped him,

and offered him gold and frankincense and myrrh, and by revela tion were commanded not to return to Herod, to whom they ha first come; that he was called Jesus as the Saviour of his people that by the command of God his parents fled with him to Egypt fo fear of Herod and remained there till Archelaus succeeded him that Herod, being deceived by the wise men, commanded the chil dren of Bethlehem to be put to death, so that the prophecy of Jer miah was fulfilled who spoke of Rachel weeping for her children that Jesus grew after the common manner of men, working as a carpenter, and so waited thirty years, more or less, till the coming of John the Baptist.

Dr. Salmon well says that Justin's account of our Saviour's life need not be considered any further.

This specimen of his account of that part of it where, if anywhere a difference from the canonical Gospels would be likely to be found is enough to show that the Gospel used by Justin told substantially the same story as that related in the Gospels we have, and that, as far as controversy with unbelievers is concerned, it is quite immaterial which Gospel is appealed to.

Justin's characteristics are sufficient to account for all the variations seen above; if it were not, he may have had a copy of our Gospels that had a variant reading, and so have been led to give some things different from the canonical Gospels. But if the above considerations were not enough to convince us that Justin used our Gospels they prove absolutely that he used some Gospels that were generally accepted in his time: we have no hint as to a revolution in the Church regarding its writings about this time, and just a few years later Tatian and Irenæus and many others give undoubted evidence that the Gospels used in their days were the same that we have to-day. How could the Church change Scriptures so quickly and so easily and quietly that no hint of transition remains? What other Gospels could Justin have had that the next generation annihilated in silence? None!

Concerning the epistles of the New Testament, Dr. Westcott's list of allusions to them bears considerable weight in favor of their acceptance with Justin. It is found that he alludes to Peter and John, and his conflict with Marcion the Gnostic necessarily presupposes an acquaintance with Paul

and the Acts: his use of *καὶ ἐσμέν* in Dial. 123, and in the connection *καὶ θεοῦ τέκνα ἀληθινὰ καλοῦ μεθα καὶ ἐσμέν,* seems conclusive as to his use of the Third Epistle of John, since we know of no other place where this peculiar combination of thought and language occurs. He distinctly names John as the author of the Apocalypse. But the fourth Gospel was the last of all the books of the New Testament in being put forth, and if Justin had that he surely had all the rest. We have already seen that he had the synoptics, Paul's epistles, and some others. Did he have John? Scarcity of data here is due to two things: John gives less of history in his portrait of Christ and more of his spiritual character and presence and purpose; hence incidents could not be so well gathered from this Gospel. Again, this is the distinctively spiritual Gospel, and was so unsuited for controversy with heathen or Jews; it is more suited to edify believers. Nevertheless Justin has given us positive evidence of acquaintance with John and of his own following of John. Dr. Abbott has so thoroughly discussed and pointed out the marks of John's Gospel found in Justin that it is almost mere copying to bring forth examples. The most conspicuous example is that found in Apol. i, 61. Speaking of baptism, he says:

> For Christ also said, "Except ye be born again ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven." Now, that it is impossible for those who have once been born to enter into their mothers' wombs is manifest to all.

Here, as pointed out by Dr. Abbott, Justin's comment has no bearing on the thought preceding, cannot have been suggested by it, and hence can hardly be original. It has a strong affinity for John iii, 4. The quotation, looked upon as taken from John iii, 5 and 7, has been justified by Dr. Abbott, who shows that the solemn introduction found in John would have been needless and unintelligible where Justin uses the quotation, and that all the variations from John in the quotation itself may reasonably be accounted for, and that "born again" is a proper rendering in John iii, 7. He summarizes his discussion of this passage as follows:

The positive reasons for believing that Justin derived his quotation from this source are, (1) the fact that in no other report of the teachings of Jesus except that of John do we find this figure of the new birth; (2) the insistence in both Justin and John are the necessity of the new birth to an entrance into the kingdom of heaven; (3) its mention in both in connection with baptism; and, (4) last and most important of all, the fact that Justin's remark on the impossibility of a second natural birth is such a platitude in the form in which he presents it that we cannot regard it as original.

Other references sustain this conclusion, such as, "Christ healed those who were blind from their birth;" Justin's agreement with John, as against the Septuagint, in citing Zech. xii, 10; and his interpretation of the brazen serpent held up in the wilderness as symbolic of the cross. Investigation shows also that John had become coordinate with the synoptics in the next generation after Justin, the time of Tatian and Irenæus, and that even his enemies thus acknowledged his authority.

But the strongest evidence of Justin's accepting the Gospel of John is his Christology, and specially his doctrine of the Logos. Dr. Salmon well sums up this doctrine as follows:

The name "Logos" is habitually used by Justin, occurring more than twenty times. His doctrine is that this Logos existed before all creation, dwelling with the Father; that he was God; that by him all things were made; that this preexistent Word took form and became man, and was called Jesus Christ; and that he was the only-begotten of the Father.

This is not all of his doctrine of the Logos, but it is enough to show that he agrees with John, and hence got his views from the fourth Gospel, since nowhere else could he have gotten them, not even from the Jew Philo; for both John and Justin differ from him. We conclude, then, that Justin knew and used our Scriptures, and especially our four Gospels, in substantially their present form.

J. F. Moreland.

Art. IV.—THE THIRD ECUMENICAL CONFERENCE.

This great Conference, representing world-wide Methodism, was a delegated body. Two hundred of the delegates came from the twelve branches of our Church family which compose the Eastern Section, and three hundred from the twelve which compose the Western. It was not a legislative body, and had no power whatever over the creeds, doctrines, polity, or work of any family connected with either group. Its influence was moral and indirect. It was a Conference of great Church leaders, who discussed, without the embarrassments that cripple legislative debates, the questions that are of vital interest to all.

It was a genuinely ecumenical gathering. The world is the parish of Methodism to-day in a far grander sense than it was John Wesley's, and its "cathedral" was filled with representatives from every division of the earth's surface. They came from the United States and Canada, from Mexico and South America, from the West and the East Indies, from Europe and Africa, from Australia and the islands of the sea. It was ecumenical in a grander sense, too, than can be indicated by the mention of geographical boundaries: it was the supreme gathering of an ecumenical Church. Some of the grandest meetings of the Conference were the evening gatherings in St. James Hall—a place that has been sanctified by the herculean work of Hugh Price Hughes. Among the brilliant speeches of one never-to-be-forgotten evening was that by Dr. J. Clefford, pastor of the Westbourne Park Baptist Chapel. In part he said: "This is a truly ecumenical Conference. Some called by that name are exclusive in their spirit. You are inclusive. You are far more than an imperial Church. You are truly catholic. I rejoice in your thirty million adherents, but I do not count them your best possession. I rejoice most in your ideals. They are universal, and your spirit is in accord with them. You have always stood for three great universalities: the universality of the

love of God, of the sacrifice of Jesus Christ, and of the work of the Holy Spirit. These are great ideals, and have made your Church and Conference truly ecumenical." It was a Conference composed of men of broad vision, catholic spirit, keen insight, dauntless courage, rare scholarship, and wonderful achievements. These men understood what Methodism is, what it has accomplished, and what is necessary to far-reaching victories in the near to-morrow. These stalwart sons of the Church gave themselves to an honest consideration of vital themes.

The opening sermon was preached by Bishop Charles B. Galloway, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. The theme was "Christian Experience: Its Supreme Value and Crowning Evidence." Subject and sermon were in harmony with the spirit of the hour, and many were the devout responses. After this came the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. It was a holy place and a holy hour. The afternoon was given up to formal addresses of welcome by Dr. Davison, of the British Wesleyan Conference, and Rev. Joseph Odell, of the Primitive Methodist Church, and replies by Bishop Hurst, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Dr. John Potts, of the Methodist Church of Canada, and Bishop Walters, of the African Methodist Episcopal Church. Special mention should be made of the address of Dr. Davison; it was a speech "of rare eloquence and surpassing beauty."

The morning of the second day was devoted to a presentation of the present position of Methodism in the Eastern Section. From the essay by Dr. Edward Boden, of the United Methodist Free Church, and the addresses which followed we learned that the Methodist bodies of New Zealand (with the exception of the Primitives) had become one Church since the last Ecumenical Conference; that after January there will be only one Methodist Church in all Australia; that in England there is a committee for "Methodist concerted action;" that the National Council of the Evangelical Free Churches had come into being largely because of the influence and spirit of Methodism; that Methodism of to-day

in that section stands high in the region of culture; that work for the middle and lower classes is being pushed with marked success in many of the great cities of the Eastern world; that the old Gospel of hope, salvation, and joy is powerful to save in the slum districts of London, Liverpool, and Manchester; that temperance sentiment is on the increase—though it is yet many years behind America; that Methodism is rapidly becoming a wealthy Church, and, consequently, is exposed to new and supreme perils; that it is a power to lead men to repentance and a godly life, and that it stands for the highest morality as well as for a lofty spirituality. In the afternoon the position of Methodism in the Western Section was considered. The main paper was read by Dr. John F. Goucher, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, while twelve addresses on the subject were made by members of the Conference. It was shown that the Methodist Church of Canada had prospered wonderfully and that it has now the largest enrollment of any Protestant Church in the Dominion; that two thirds of all the Methodists of the world are to be found in the United States; that in the United States, while the population has increased 14.4 times in the nineteenth century, the Methodist communicants have increased 91.7 times; that Methodism in the Western Section is "in reference to life spiritual and aggressive, in reference to doctrine loyal and witnessing, in reference to work organized and equipped, in reference to science and philosophy progressive and conservative, in reference to society inspirational and constructive." These addresses, taken in connection with the report of the Special Committee on Statistics, demonstrated that the last ten years have been years of signal victory. World-wide Methodism now has 48,334 ministers, 104,786 lay preachers, 89,087 church buildings, 7,659,285 members, and not far from 30,000,000 adherents. There has been a net increase, in the past ten years, of 5,061 ministers, 5,584 lay preachers, 17,891 church buildings, and 1,155,326 members.

Friday, September 6, Dr. C. W. Smith, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, presented the opening paper, which was

well written, well read, and well received. The theme was, "The Influence of Methodism in the Promotion of International Peace." Following the paper came a consideration of "The Causes which Make for War," by Mr. R. W. Perks, M.P., of the Wesleyan Methodist Church. According to this vigorous and carefully trained speaker the forces that make for war are "ignorance," "the profession of arms," "the corrupt and unlicensed journalism of the day," and "an untrue and unchristian conception of what is real glory and true heroism." In the discussion which followed some one unwisely alluded to the struggle going on in South Africa, and before one could tell how it happened the Conference was in a blaze. A criticism of the government was cheered. It seemed that at least sixty per cent of the English delegates were opposed to the conduct of the war. The afternoon theme was threefold. The first paper read by Dr. W. J. Townsend, of the Methodist New Connection, was on "The Relation of Methodism to the Evangelical Free Church Movement." Bishop R. S. Williams, of the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church, spoke next, on "Methodism and Christian Unity." Following this came an address by Dr. T. Bowman Stephenson, of the Wesleyan Methodist Church, on "Interdenominational Fellowship among Methodists." This brought us to the climax of the day and the session. The outcome of that hour was not in the plan, but one could no more have kept the organic union of Methodism out of the debate than he could have kept the South African war out of the thoughts of men during the discussion of the morning. Dr. Stephenson told us that the friends in England had gone just as far as they could without spelling the word "union," and prayed that they might have grace and sense enough to do the right thing.

The Conference passed resolutions expressing the hope that the beautiful dream of organic union might be realized, and we were assured by the leaders of the Eastern Section that some definite movement would take place in England in the near future. What is sure to happen in England ought to happen in America.

On the fourth day of the Conference a dark cloud fell over the body. The fatal shot had been fired in Buffalo, and as soon as the devotional service of the Conference was concluded Dr. W. T. Davison, of the Wesleyan Methodist Church, offered the following resolution:

> This Conference expresses its intense indignation at the dastardly attack upon the life of the President of the United States of America, its profound sympathy with that nation in its deep anxiety, and directs that a message of respectful sympathy be sent immediately to the President, Mrs. McKinley, and the distressed family.

Dr. Jenkins, of the Wesleyan Church, who, twenty years ago, at the First Ecumenical Conference, offered resolutions of sympathy on the occasion of the death of President Garfield, seconded the resolution. Then Englishmen vied with Americans to praise the Christian statesman at whose bedside the whole world was watching in anxiety and hope. It was a scene never to be forgotten. Eloquent men spoke with faltering voices. Strong men were in tears. There was no dividing line in that Conference. One could not tell which were Americans and which subjects of Edward VII. There was only one sadder day during the session, and that was when the Conference assembled, on the afternoon of the 16th, to listen to the memorial addresses of Dr. T. B. Stephenson and Bishop John H. Vincent. Then we knew as never before that there was a moral unity of the Anglo-Saxon race, and that it will take something more than the blunders of selfish political tricksters to estrange nations so closely drawn together.

The program of that day was wonderfully rich. Dr. Tigert, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, read a very strong paper on "Biblical Criticism and the Christian Faith." One sentence will indicate the line along which the discussion traveled: "The strands of historic Christianity, the divine Christ, and the certainties of Christian experience unite to form a threefold cord which cannot easily be broken." Following Dr. Tigert came Dr. Marshall Randle, of the Wesleyan Methodist Church, with a paper on "Recent Corroborations of the Scripture Narrative." In a very clear and scholarly way he

showed most conclusively that archæology has declared with no uncertain voice that the authority of the sacred Scriptures has not been and cannot be shaken. It was fitting that this presentation should be followed by "An Appeal of the Old Testament to the Life and Conscience of To-day," handled in an equally satisfactory manner by Chancellor D. S. Stephens, of the Methodist Protestant Church. He reminded us that the Old Testament holds its unique place in literature because the Hebrew approached the supernatural in a realistic spirit, showed that the record must be true because we find a verifying experience of the unseen in modern history and life, and closed with the words: "Ecclesiasticism, formalism, and tradition may pass away, but religion, based upon the intuitions of God, must last while human nature remains." Listening to the papers and subsequent discussions, it was evident that "experience" gave to Methodism its early power; that a flood of light was being poured upon the word of God; that the spiritual character of the Bible was more manifest to-day than ever before; that the book was coming out of the fierce fires without the smell of burning upon it; that we had come to a better and clearer understanding of the question of inspiration; that we must have patience with biblical scholarship, and, above all, that Methodism has been but slightly moved by the spirit of destructive criticism because it has looked beyond all forms to the eternal truths which make their ultimate appeal to the God-consciousness in man. The discussion of modern sacerdotalism revealed the fact that our brethren beyond the sea feel the influence of a State Church that came out of a Reformation which was more political than transforming.

"Methodism and Education in the Twentieth Century" provoked vigorous discussion and profitable debate. We were made to feel that Methodism has done and is doing a great work; that one twelfth of the colleges and universities in the United States are owned and controlled by the Methodist Episcopal Church alone; that our teachers in the new century must be aglow with Christian experience;

that the Church school must be kept religious or there will be no warrant for its existence; that we must develop some genuinely great universities where the schoolmasters of the century can be trained; that the public school must be kept free from the domination of any and every Church; that the ministry must seek to induce the young people of Methodism to escape from the clutches of commercialism long enough to enable them to secure the best preparation for their lifework, and that the supreme need of the hour is a mighty baptism of liberality.

With the seventh day the Conference passed to the discussion of the more practical part of the program. The great mass meetings in St. James Hall, in the interest of city evangelization, temperance, and Sabbath observance, showed that Methodism is trying to purify the fountains of society and life. The afternoon devoted to the young people's societies of Methodism brought out the fact that this movement is the pastor's right hand of power and the hope of the Church. The session that was given up to the question, "Is Methodism Retaining its Spiritual Vitality?" led to the feeling that there has been no retrogression. "Practical Methods of Dealing with the Liquor Traffic" revealed the fact that the tide of temperance sentiment is rising. "The Prevalence and Pernicious Influence of Gambling" opened our eyes more than ever to the fact that this sin is on the increase. Against this evil the Church must hurl its sharpest lightnings. "The Perils of Increasing Wealth," "The Perversion of Wealth," and "The Consecration of Wealth" brought before the Conference discussions which ought to be read by every layman on both sides of the Atlantic. The day devoted to missions ought to result in increased enthusiasm throughout the whole Church.

The Conference left some strong impressions. Let us record three or four:

1. The Conference made a profound impression upon other denominations and the outside world. The *Review of Reviews* said: "There was such a manifestation at this Ecu-

menical Conference that Englishmen felt that Methodism is a force that must needs be reckoned with when considering the problems of a nation and a world."

2. Methodism is one in theology, spirit, purpose, and aim, and it will some day be one organically throughout the earth.

3. Methodism is an evangelistic movement. We exist, not because of our theology, though we have never had occasion to renew that; not because of our polity, though it has been a mighty factor in the past; not because of our institutions, though they are everywhere agents of blessing. We exist to spread scriptural holiness over the face of the earth. If we cease to be evangelistic our reason for being will disappear.

4. Methodism is to have not a little to do in the work of molding the civilizations of to-morrow. The Anglo-Saxon is to be the dominating race of the future. This mighty race is developing colossal empires in America, Canada, and the British possessions of the North; in Australia, where you have a continent larger and richer in resources than the whole of Europe; in South Africa, the land of boundless possibilities; in the Philippines, which may yet be the gateway of the Orient; and in India, where ever-increasing millions are stretching out eager hands for a civilization that reflects the light of the Gospel. In all of these lands, where there are boundless opportunities, Methodism has reached the point of influence and power. She has the theology, the polity, the history, the spirit, and the experience that, wisely used, will make her the salvation of the nations, the inspiration of races, and the mother of civilizations. We have a place at the center of the earth at a moment that may be thought of as a crisis in the world's history. If we are true to God and to ourselves the future will be much more glorious than the past has been.

Polemus Hamilton Swift

ART. V.—ELEMENTS OF HEBREW LITERATURE IN BROWNING'S "SAUL."

IN Browning's "Saul" we live again in the days of the Hebrew prophets and kings. Apart from the mere narrative, apart from its historic setting, the very spirit of the poem is Hebraic. It embodies the feelings, the manner of thinking, the life of the people of those days, the spiritual gladness of the Psalms, and the grandeur of the prophecies.

A strong element of the life depicted in the poem is the close intimacy that man has with nature. David is the shepherd boy we know in the Old Testament, the "sweet psalmist of Israel," the lover of all that is beautiful in nature, and within the darkened tent his harp sings to King Saul of the life in the pastures:

> Then I turned my harp, took off the lilies we twine round its cords,
> Lest they snap 'neath the stress of the noontide—those sunbeams like swords!—
> And I first played the tune all our sheep know, as, one after one,
> So docile they come to the pen-door till folding be done.
> They are white and untorn by the bushes, for lo, they have fed
> Where the long grasses stifle the water within the stream's bed.

Then he plays the tune known to the "quails on the cornland," to the lively crickets, to the quick jerboa, "half bird and half mouse," "a-musing outside his sand house," and reminds us that

> God made all the creatures and gave them our love and our fear,
> To give sign we and they are his children, one family here.

Out there in the "dewy covert" under the shadow of Hebron he has studied nature in all her moods and has entered into the friendship of the living creatures around him. It is the same David who sings of the "hart panting after the water brooks;" of "the pastures clothed with flocks;" of the "valleys covered over with corn;" of the high hills as "a refuge for the wild goats, and the rocks for the conies;" of "the cedars of Lebanon, where the birds make their nests; as for the stork, the fir trees are her house." And the Hebrew

sees God in nature and receives all her gifts as from the great Father.

In the ninth stanza appears the spirit of the Old Testament promises of blessings to the obedient; of "rain in due season, . . . that thou mayest gather in thy corn, and thy wine, and thine oil;" of joyful "seedtime and harvest." "Your threshing shall reach unto the vintage, and the vintage shall reach unto the sowing time, . . . and I will give peace in the land." These lines—

> Till, lo, thou art grown to a monarch; a people is thine;
> And all gifts which the world offers singly on one head combine!—

echo the words in Deuteronomy: "And all people of the earth shall see that thou art called by the name of the Lord. . . . The Lord shall make thee plenteous in goods. . . . The Lord shall open unto thee his good treasures." And from seeing the divine in nature comes the consciousness of God so characteristic of the Hebrew writers. David is filled with this as he prays:

> O Thou who didst grant me, that day, . . . thy help . . .
> In that act where my soul was thy servant, thy word was my word,
> Still be with me!

—recalling the words in Samuel: "The Spirit of the Lord spake by me, and his word was in my tongue." This spiritual element is evident particularly in the eighteenth stanza:

> I believe it! 'Tis thou, God, that givest, 'tis I who receive:
> In the first is the last, in thy will is my power to believe.
> All's one gift: thou canst grant it moreover, as prompt to my prayer
> As I breathe out this breath, as I open these arms to the air. . . .
> . . . O, speak through me now!

This intense realization of the divine presence is felt all through the Hebrew Scriptures. It inspires the Israelites as they follow the pillar of cloud and of fire. In their battles they are victorious because "Thy right hand, O Lord, hath dashed in pieces the enemy." They are secure at all times because "The Lord, he it is that doth go before thee; he will be with thee."

When Abner greets David—

O beloved; God's child with his dew
On thy gracious gold hair, and those lilies still living and blue
Just broken to twine round thy harp strings, as if no wild heat
Were now raging to torture the desert!—

we are reminded of the Bible words describing the trusting soul as a tree that "shall not see when heat cometh, but her leaf shall be green." And afterward, when David is entering into the presence of the King—"I groped my way on . . . then once more I prayed, . . . and entered, and was not afraid"—we can hear the David of the Psalms saying, "He shall give his angels charge over thee, to keep thee in all thy ways."

With the element of trust is brought out that of reverence, of intense solemnity, so prominent in the Hebrew mind. In the seventh stanza David sings of the Levites who "go up to the altar in glory enthroned," and our thoughts revert to that scene in First Kings where "The priests could not stand to minister because of the cloud; for the glory of the Lord filled the house of the Lord." In the fourteenth stanza David says:

Let me tell out the tale to its ending—my voice to my heart
Which can scarce dare believe in what marvels last night I took part, . . .
And still fear lest the terrible glory evanish like sleep.

At last the song ceases; the harp falls from the hands of the player; his soul is flooded with the light of the marvelous vision of the Christ, and he cries:

O Saul, it shall be
A Face like my face that receives thee; a Man like to me
Thou shalt love and be loved by forever; a Hand like this hand
Shall throw open the gates of new life to thee! See the Christ stand!

And we remember the words of the great Hebrew prophet: "A man shall be as an hiding place from the wind, and a covert from the tempest; . . . as the shadow of a great rock in a weary land." "And his name shall be called Wonderful, . . . The mighty God, . . . The Prince of Peace. . . . He will come and save you."

Not only in its substance and spirit is the poem Hebraic, but also in its form. All through it we find the figurative

language so characteristic of the Psalms, of the book of Isaiah, and of other poetic books of Hebrew Scripture. It tells of the "wild heat raging to torture the desert," of "those sunbeams like swords," of the sheep as feeding "where the long grasses stifle the water," of their return to the fold "as star follows star into eve and the blue far above us," of

> The dried river channel where bulrushes tell
> That the water was wont to go warbling so softly and well,

bringing to mind the words, "He leadeth me beside the still waters;" "The little hills rejoice on every side;" "He shall be like a tree planted by the rivers of water." The line, "The vale laughed in freedom and flowers," suggests Isaiah's words, "The mountains and the hills shall break forth before you into singing." In fact, the poem is so full of Hebraic richness of fancy and play of imagination that he can best appreciate it who possesses a thorough acquaintance with Old Testament literature.

Caroline A. Watters.

Art. VI.—PHILOSOPHY OF THE RESURRECTION.

The manger in Bethlehem, the cross on Calvary, and the empty sepulcher are the most impressive spots in human history; and the incarnation, the atonement, and the resurrection are the supreme events of time. In the manger man received the evidence of divine truth; on the cross, the evidence of divine love; in the empty tomb, the evidence of divine power. As to the fact of the resurrection, nothing is more clearly stated in holy writ. For, while the incarnation and sacrifice were necessary to the redemption of man, they were not sufficient. Any man might affirm himself to be divinely incarnated, and by "the ways that are dark" do many wonderful things. He might even suffer himself to be put to death; but only the Divine Being himself could roll back the curtain of death and show himself alive again unto the people. The resurrection is the seal of omnipotent love stamped deeply and indelibly upon the plan of salvation, assuring man that whoso conforms his life thereto shall pass into a post-temporal life free from the reach of death and hell forever.

Yet, with the evidence at hand of its certainty, the resurrection has many deniers. The Sadducee denies it *in toto*. The Swedenborgian holds to the theory that the "soul at death retains a certain ethereal investiture which will accrete to itself a new body." The Universalist affirms that "the resurrection is the soul returning to God;" that, "the body will not be raised;" that, "the soul leaving the dead body and entering on its immortal career is resurrection to incorruption and glory." Orthodoxy affirms the resurrection of soul and body. The "Apostles' Creed" is the statement of orthodox evangelical belief.

While, however, orthodox believers accept the doctrine of the resurrection of the body, different theories concerning it are entertained by them. Some affirm that the body sown will *not* be the body raised; others that the body sown

is the same body that is to be raised, changed and transformed into the likeness of the glorious body of Christ, having such individuality that when friend meets friend in the resurrected body recognition will be as complete as when they met in the natural body. Those who hold that there is a resurrection but not of the body sown claim the tenability of their doctrine by virtue of the apparent impossibility of the same body being retained or found again. They claim that because of the decomposition, disintegration, and absorption of the elements of the body by other organisms, and their dissemination everywhere, the resurrection of the same body is impossible. That the fact of the flux of bodily elements makes the resurrection of the same body appear as a thing incredible cannot be denied. Indeed, we confess that to affirm the contrary seems beset with insurmountable difficulties. However, the "inspired writer" says, "Ah Lord God, behold, thou hast made the heaven and the earth by thy great power and stretched out arm, and there is nothing too hard for thee." "The things," Jesus declared, "which are impossible with men are possible with God." We therefore affirm that God must have some method whereby the body sown will be the body raised.

1. If there is an atom of matter in all the universe of which God is not cognizant he neither "fills heaven and earth" nor is he omniscient. But we affirm that every atom of matter in the universe is open to God's cognition. Job says, "I know that thou canst do everything, and no thought can be withholden from thee;" also Psa. cxxxix, 7-12. It is not necessary that the atoms of the body should remain where they are placed in order that God may know where they belong. But we are asked, "How will it be if a body dies having in its substance some of the identical matter which belonged to a body that had died before it? For example, the Egyptian gardener fertilizes his onion beds with the pulverized bodies taken from ancient tombs. Consequently the person who eats an Egyptian onion absorbs some of the atoms which once were incorporated in the body of an Egyp-

can. If, therefore, an American dies with atoms in his body which once belonged to an Egyptian's body whose shall his body be in the resurrection?" To this question we reply: All scientists have agreed on what they consider an axiomatic principle, namely, *all* substances, whether animal, vegetable, or mineral, solid, liquid, or gaseous, are composed of atoms which are always the same, whether found in flesh or blood, wood or stone, air or water, etc. An atom of oxygen is always oxygen. It never is and never can be anything else. So of hydrogen, nitrogen, gold, silver, etc. And while there are some sixty-seven primal elements, yet the great mass of the universe, as far as discovered, is composed of only fifteen of them.

Again, all scientists are agreed that all substances are the result of the combination of various kinds of atoms. Hence very different substances may be composed of atoms the same in kind, but arranged in a different order. For example, alcohol is composed of four atoms carbon, six atoms hydrogen, and two atoms oxygen to a molecule equaling twelve atoms. Vinegar has four atoms carbon, four atoms hydrogen, and four atoms oxygen in a molecule of twelve atoms. The only difference between turpentine and camphor is that camphor has two atoms of oxygen to every molecule, whereas turpentine has none.

Another thing scientists are agreed upon is that these atoms are always the same in size, shape, density, and weight. So that any atom of oxygen is just the same as every other atom of oxygen in the universe; and the same is true of every other kind of atom.

There is still another thing in which there is general agreement, namely, that in the course of from seven to nine years every human body has thrown out every atom of matter contained in it and substituted other atoms therefor. Notwithstanding this fact, however, the body has not changed, since the discarded atoms, and those which are substituted for them, are in no wise different. There is not an atom in your body which was there ten years ago, notwithstanding your

identity is unchanged. Now, if by this process of substitution and continuous flux every atom in the body may be replaced while the body still remains the same, what need is there for the atoms of the body which are deposited in the grave to remain there? What does it signify if the various atoms of this body are separated by hundreds of miles? Drop the body into the bosom of old ocean; let it be consumed by fire; throw it into the chute of the dissecting room, or lay it reverently in the grave, it is all one to this body. All that is required in the resurrection is enough atoms of the kinds it had at death.

Now, God knows just how many and what kind of atoms the body carried into the grave, how they were arranged, and in what proportion. And when he raises the body it will be just as truly the identical body placed in the grave as our bodies are now the identical bodies we had ten years ago. And since this resurrected body will not have had "Old Time" inscribing on it his hieroglyphics its recognition by those who knew it before death will be instantaneous.

God alone knows where the atoms are that composed our bodies twenty years ago. Some of them may be thousands of miles away, doing duty in the body of some animal or other thing. And God alone knows where all the atoms came from that make up our bodies now. And yet we know we have the same bodies we always had. Therefore we affirm it does not matter what becomes of the material of any body after death. God, who first made the body from dust (atoms) of the earth, will have no trouble to set it up again the same body, just as it was buried, minus its mortality. And so from purely scientific data it is not only *possible,* but highly probable, that it will be the identical body that was laid in the grave.

2. Again, the term "resurrection" is meaningless and absurd if this be not the body raised. The term signifies to "stand again," or "rise again," from *re,* "again," and *surgere,* "to rise." Now, to "rise again" cannot be predicated of anything but the same thing that was set or laid or thrown down. Nothing can be put up again unless it was up before.

hence when it is affirmed that this mortal shall put on immortality it cannot mean another. If resurrection means anything it is that this body, the one sown, shall be reproduced and changed into a deathless body, to be the soul's instrument for the experiences of eternity. And the language used by the New Testament writers shows that they understood this. Take, for instance, Phil. iii, 20, 21. Now, if Paul did not mean to teach the resurrection of this body, why did a writer of his learning use such words as *metaschematisei,* signifying "to remodel," and *summorphon?* Can anything be remodeled which did not previously exist? It is this vile body, this corrupt, mortal body, not another, that is to be remodeled from a natural to a spiritual body and conformed to the likeness of the glorious body of Christ. Professor Williams, of the Ohio Wesleyan University, one of the most thorough Greek scholars of the day, says, "This resurrection is not a figurative one; nor is the body which shall rise a substitute for the old one." Dr. Cocker, author of *Greek Philosophy,* says the same in substance. From the New Testament Scriptures we learn not only that the body buried is the body raised, but that the bodies in their graves are to be raised first—that is, replaced upon the earth, just as they were before they died. Then the bodies raised, together with the bodies of those who had not died, shall be changed.* Then will the bodies of children, cripples, and the deformed, if it be essential to their eternal good, be changed into bodies of normal size and normal conditions, and such bodies as will best serve the soul for its rapturous service in glory.

3. Again, from the analogies of Scripture what else can be understood as the body to be raised, other than this body which the soul vacates at death? Christ, we are told, is the first fruits. First fruits cannot be different in kind from following fruits. The term "first" is meaningless if the following are not like that of which the first was the sample. 4. With what body did Jesus rise? He said, "Destroy this

* Luke viii, 11; 1 Cor. xv, 51-54; Phil. iii, 20, 21; 1 Thess. iv, 13-17; Job xix, 25, 26.

temple, and in three days I will raise it up again." But we are told that he was only a short time in the tomb, and his body had no time to decompose. This, however, is immaterial. When the end comes there will doubtless be some bodies just buried, and not having had time to disintegrate, they will naturally be the bodies raised, as was Christ's; but we are not to understand, therefore, that all those whose bodies have lain long enough to dissolve will have a resurrection body different from others. It would have made no difference as to the body of Christ whether he had lain three days, three years, or three centuries in the tomb. It was the "Divine Being" who did the resurrecting. And he could have commanded the right number, kind, and arrangement of atoms in the reproduction of his identical body, in all its parts and wounds, so that any doubting Thomas might have seen and felt the nail-pierced hands and touched the wounded side. All the details of the body would have been just the same as when loving hands prepared it for burial. In connection with the resurrection of Christ we are given a case in point, Matt. xxvii, 52, 53. Now, it is quite possible that some of the saints mentioned had been dead for several years. If so, their bodies were either altogether decomposed or far on the way to decomposition; but those bodies arose.

Again from the translations of Enoch and Elijah, and from what Paul says in his letter to the Thessalonians, the presumption is that all are to make their final entry into the future life just as Enoch, Elijah, and Jesus did. Those who remain at the last day are not to precede those who are in their graves. Now, Enoch, Elijah, Jesus, and the saints who arose after the resurrection, together with those who shall remain, not having died when the last day comes, will ascend to glory with these same bodies changed. Does not the force, then, of these analogies compel us to accept as true the doctrine that, since the living are to have no priority over the dead in ascension to glory, the latter are to be raised first to the same level of the bodies of the living? That is, the dead as well as those then in the natural body are to be raised

to the same condition and ascend with the same bodies changed. "God is no respecter of persons." There is nothing in science, reason, or the Scriptures to lead us even to infer that the bodies of the dead will be changed to celestial bodies from any other than the same natural bodies in which they lived on the earth. All speculation to the contrary is the product of pure rationalism with God left out.

4. The resurrection body will be a substantial body from which the poison of sin has been eliminated. It will be a body whose rhythmic movements will all be in sweet accord with its beneficent Creator. The nerves, which are now the electric lines for conducting the lightning strokes of pain, will then be the delightful highways of exhilarating bliss. Every quickened sense will be an avenue of enrapturing joy. The voice will ever be wanting to swell a song, speak a rapture, or shout a praise. It will be a perfect body; more superior to itself when in the natural, corruptible, mortal state than carbon in the diamond state is superior to itself in the coal state. These bodies shall be changed. God says so in his word. This corruptible must put on incorruption. This mortal must put on immortality. This body, full of the dross of sin and death, will go into the crucible of the Infinite and Divine Assayer, and must come forth purified and immortalized. For, as we have borne the image of the earthly, we shall also bear the image of the heavenly. And that heavenly is to be a real, plain, glorified, substantial body. It will be this sin-racked tenement of clay all built up again into an imperishable domicile founded on the Rock of eternal ages, in the realm of eternal day.

Wm. W. Laws

Art. VII.—AGNOSTICISM AT THE GRAVE.

On the 22d of December, 1880, Mrs. Cross, better known as "George Eliot," passed away in her sixtieth year. While comparatively young she went to London, and soon acquired some distinction as a writer in the *Westminster Review,* and afterward as the translator of Strauss's *Life of Christ,* a book which is now disowned by the very school that gave it enthusiastic reception when it first appeared. The influence which such men as John Stuart Mill, Herbert Spencer, George Henry Lewes, and others of the same skeptical type of thought exercised on her mind was so controlling that at the commencement of her literary career she forsook the foundations of revealed religion, and during the subsequent years lived, and apparently died, in sympathy with the teachings of that school which exclude a personal God. This gifted woman passed away from earth uncheered by the blessed consolations and hopes which the Christian religion alone can impart.

It is not, however, to the events which marked the closing hours of her life, but to her funeral and to the group of noted admirers and friends that gathered around her grave, that we desire to call attention. In that distinguished company of mourners were found the chief representatives of modern unbelief: Herbert Spencer, Charles Darwin, Professors Tyndall and Huxley, Frederic Harrison, and a large number of others of the same faith or no faith. We are assured that the exercises in connection with that funeral were, to a great extent, under the direction of the individuals just named. For the ministrations conducted over that tomb they were largely responsible. Here was an excellent opportunity for an undisguised exhibition of scientific consistency, and, of course, those bold and fearless men would certainly not allow a rare public occasion like this to pass away without illustrating the practical application of those teachings which they have made so large an expenditure of time, talent, effort, and life to spread broadcast among their fellows.

In the actual presence of death and the newly opened grave what position did those apostles of doubt and denial assume? Surely those men, who have spoken of the cherished hopes of millions with heartless unconcern, and who have attacked the very foundations of the sacred edifice of Christianity, would not shrink from announcing and applying the principles which they propose as a substitute for that faith which they have persistently endeavored to repudiate if not utterly to destroy. What we have now a right to expect, in the presence of such an opportunity, is a scientific and logical consistency from men who have had much to say about the absence of this most desirable element in departments other than their own. As they stood with uncovered heads on that cold December day around that grave, and with an observing world looking quietly on, an address something like the following might reasonably have been expected from some member of that distinguished group:

"Dear friends, we stand to-day in the presence of a solemn and universal fact. Death has hushed into a lasting silence a voice we all have loved to hear. A great light has suddenly been extinguished, and we are left to mourn for one who has passed from our sight to return no more forever. Having abandoned the teachings of the venerable religion, we kindle no resurrection light upon this grave, but around it we weave the crape of a bitter bereavement and of cold despair. We dismiss from our minds and hearts the hopes of the Christian faith, and accept this unwelcome interruption to our communion with the departed as a painful fact over which we have no control. It is useless, however, to grieve too much, for the laws of nature move onward with resistless and pitiless sweep, and in their ruthless march steal from us the objects of our tenderest love. We will act like men under the crushing sorrows of life and, with a patient resignation to the unknown, bow to the omnipotent forces which surround us and like iron bands of mystery baffle us on every side.

"It is also useless to pray, for we have no knowledge of any

being who will hear our appeal. That a Supreme Intelligence exists we admit as an abstract probability; but so far as our own investigations have led us we can only speak of such a power as 'the Inscrutable Secret,' 'the Unconditioned and Unknown,' 'the Unseen Reality,' 'the Insolvable Mystery.' We are as orphans in a fatherless universe, and the only fitting attitude for us in this trying hour is a becoming submission to the mighty energies that sweep around us on every side.

"As to the future of our dear friend we have nothing to say. The cold arms of death embrace her now, and our teachings have led us to the sad conviction that this tomb is the final and everlasting terminus of our illustrious associate. Though her influence may spread itself for generations, like the calm, sweet morning of a summer's day, we believe that her conscious, personal existence has been annihilated, never to be built up again. All that our philosophy permits us to say is that our companion has reached the climax of her development, the possibilities of her existence have been realized and exhausted, and from the summit of a splendid intellectual achievement she has simply gone down into the vast darkness of an unending night. She has doubtless 'melted away into the infinite azure of the past.' The operations of Nature are severe and profoundly mysterious, for she tosses her creatures out of nothingness into nothingness again, and tells them not whence they came or whither they go. She wraps man in darkness and makes him ever long for the light. We are the helpless victims of remorseless law, and we stand appalled at life's mysteries; the solitude and silence of death, the painful doubt as to the future and the infinite spaces above us, fill us with a wonder we cannot satisfy, inquiries we cannot answer, and a grief we cannot soothe.

"Life is a narrow vale between the barren peaks of two eternities. We strive in vain to look beyond the heights. We cry aloud, and are answered only by an empty echo.

"Gathered friends, our parting words to our buried companion are: 'We leave thee, great and dear friend, to lie in

cold obstruction and to rot," and with pained yet fearless hearts go on our way.' "

Was anything like this address delivered on that occasion by that scientific company as they assembled at the tomb in which the body of that distinguished woman was laid? Indeed there was not. On the contrary, a Protestant clergyman, the Rev. Dr. Sadler, selected by those men of scientific and philosophic fame, performed the final rites, and in solemn tones uttered the following words:

"My fellow-mourners, not with earthly affection only, but also with heavenly hopes, let us fulfill the duty now laid upon us. As the noblest lives are the truest, so are the loftiest faiths. It would be strange if she should have created immortal things, and yet be no more than mortal herself. It would be strange if names and influences should be immortal, and not the souls that gave them immortality. No! the love and grief at parting are prophecies, and clinging memories are an abiding pledge of a better life to come. So, then, we take home the words of Christ: 'Let not your heart be troubled: ye believe in God, believe also in me. In my Father's house are many mansions.'

"Great and beloved friend, we bid thee farewell, but only for a little while, till death shall come again and unite forever those whom he has separated for a time."

Then followed the prayer and benediction:

"Now may He who hath given us everlasting consolation and good hope through grace comfort our hearts, and establish us in every good word and work."

Now, this action, performed before the gaze of the world, meant one of two things: it was either a heartless prearranged mockery or a public acknowledgment of the appropriateness and power of the fundamental teachings of that religion which consciously and unconsciously those leaders of unbelief have sought either to ignore or destroy. We cannot think that those men went to that grave with a fixed determination to countenance what they regarded as a meaningless delusion and sham, and by this unmanly conduct to insult the memory

of their cherished friend, from whose voiceless lips there could come no word of crushing rebuke. Surely their position presents a paradox which it is difficult to explain. Agnosticism at the grave is utterly impotent. Here we have but one instance out of a multitude illustrating to what illogical straits men of purely materialistic speculations are driven. As one has said, "The logic of death is mightier than the theories of men, no matter how revolutionary those theories may be." For once those eminent scientific characters failed to be consistent. All their attacks upon vital questions of religion were practically set aside, and the scene under review carries with it a voice which speaks loudly of the utter helplessness and hopelessness of unbelief in the hours of man's greatest need.

The confessions of men who have played a prominent part in giving shape and influence to teachings of an agnostic character are worthy of widespread attention. Though the individuals referred to stoutly rebel against what they are pleased to call the "east wind of authority," "the drum ecclesiastic," and the "sloppy talk of sentimentalists," they cannot but acknowledge the glaring incompleteness of all their hypotheses to reach and cover all the great wants of our existence, in the various stages of its development. The late Professor Tyndall has said that "No atheistic reasoning can dislodge religion from the heart of man. Logic cannot deprive us of life; and religion is life to the religious. The logical feebleness of physical science is not sufficiently borne in mind." Again he has said that "Beyond and above and around all the real mystery of this universe lies unsolved, and so far as we are concerned is incapable of solution." In his first preface to one of his books he says, "I have noticed during years of self-observation that it is not in hours of clearness and vigor that this doctrine [that of material atheism] commends itself to my mind; that in the presence of stronger and healthier thought it ever dissolves and disappears, as offering no solution of the mystery in which we dwell and of which we form a part." Huxley on a certain

occasion said, "Have I not given my testimony that the religious sentiments are the noblest and most humane of man's emotions?" And again, "I, individually, am no materialist, but, on the contrary, believe materialism to involve grave philosophic error." Darwin, too, acknowledged that the question respecting the existence of a Creator and Ruler of the universe has been answered in the affirmative "by the highest intellects that ever lived." Herbert Spencer has also admitted that "The atheistic theory is not only absolutely unthinkable, but even if it were thinkable would offer no solution of life and the universe in which that life is found." The language of Mr. George J. Holyoke, in spite of his downright unbelief, admits his strong yearning for another life. In one of the most touching passages in his writings he speaks of this strong desire, in which he should enjoy the society of his daughter, lost to him—according to his theory—forever. His words are: " 'My dada's coming to see me,' Madeline exclaimed on the night of her death, with that full, pure, and thrilling tone which marked her when in health. 'I am sure he is coming to-night, mamma;' and then, remembering that that could not be, she said, 'Write to him, mamma; he will come to see me.' And these were the last words that she uttered; and all that remains now is the memory of that cheerless, fireless room, and the midnight reverberations of that voice which I would give a new world to hear again." "Yes," he says, "I shall be pleased to find a life after this; a future life, bringing with it the admission to such companionship, would be a noble joy to contemplate." Thomas Cooper, when his mind was under the deep darkness of a godless infidelity, penned the following lines:

> Farewell, grand Sun! How my weak heart revolts
> At that appalling thought—that my last look
> At thy great light must come! O, I could brook
> The dungeon though eterne! the priest's own hell,
> Aye, or a thousand hells, in thought unshook,
> Rather than nothingness! and yet the knell,
> I fear, is near that sounds—to consciousness farewell!

The language of the late Robert G. Ingersoll is also a confes-

sion of the impotence of unbelief in the presence of sorrow and death. Among other things which he said at his brother's funeral, the following is worthy of note: "For whether in mid-sea or among the breakers of the farther shore a wreck must mark at last the end of each; and all and every life, no matter if its every hour is rich with love and every moment jeweled with a joy, will at its close become a tragedy, as sad and deep and dark as can be woven of the warp and woof of mystery and death."

Agnosticism and the whole brood of skeptical speculations and denials are not only speechless at the grave, but they are marked by a painful impotency when confronted by many of the great facts and experiences of life. From abundance of evidence it is clear that the doubt and denial of the present is only an eddy in the tide of Christian progress. The ultimate victory of materialism is only a baseless dream. The best instincts of humanity, the great stretches of the world's misery and want, the solemn facts of life and death, the imperishable anticipations of the best and noblest of the race as to the future, the universal ideas as to the great spiritualities above us, the incompleteness of an unbelieving science or philosophy to cover man's existence and his needs—all, all are indestructible guarantees that that religion which speaks to us of the seen and unseen, of the present and future, and answers many of the burning questions which gather around our life and death, will live on and on until its mission is accomplished and its divine and glorious work on earth is done.

William Harrison

Art. VIII.—TYPES AND HOPES OF AMERICAN DEMOCRACY.

As one looks back over the work of the makers of the American republic the toilers and their triumph are strangely mingled in the vision that rises from the past. The mighty fabric and the fashioners thereof melt together as if in a dissolving view. The two resemble each other. This is the secret of the power of patriotism. The man refuses to separate his land from himself. He loves her. He dreams of her. He braves a thousand ills for her peace and dies for her salvation. Not always is he clear in his analysis of the bonds that bind him to his idol. Reverence, not reflection, is priest. "The modern nation," says Bosanquet, "is a history and a religion rather than a clear-cut idea." Few actors in the national drama are enabled to define clearly the national idea under whose impulse the vast procession is borne onward. The nation as an "idea-force" is one of the immeasurables that defy the standards of contemporaries. Not till experiment has approved theory are men qualified to judge the strain-resisting might of their governmental formulas. No one, for instance, living in the flame of the struggle forty years ago could tell the power of the national sentiment which finally won, for both friend and enemy, vast benefits.

Popular governments are to many thinkers a questionable expedient. Few of these critics are of native birth. We have so long encouraged an easy confidence in our theory of sovereignty that the entire sanity of an objector is highly problematical when examined by the enthusiastic American. With him the cry is, "America against the world, and a long brace for our kind of rule!" Yet Sir Henry Maine has concluded that "there is not at present sufficient evidence to warrant the common belief that these governments are likely to be of indefinitely long duration." The leaden forecast has its offset in the cheering words of the fairest critic we have had from over the sea, for Mr. Bryce says, "They are

something more than an experiment, for they are believed to disclose and display the type of institutions toward which, as by a law of fate, the rest of mankind are forced to move, some with swifter, others with slower, but all with unresting feet." Was it ever true that these words of the Englishman could not have been appropriate? What right have we now to say they have the ring of the true prophet? Are we indeed the file-leader of the world's political thought? If so, how have we achieved the proud but perilous eminence? An intelligent scrutiny of the nation's career will show our relation to a double problem. We have attacked the chief problem, from a political point of view, of civilization, namely, how to secure concerted action upon a large scale without injury to local independence, and in the second place we have engaged the world's interest in our efforts to lift the lowly American citizen to a place beside the world masters. We have combined these two in one and have made the one the minister of the other. The man and the movement must be inseparable if both are to get their tallest elevation. Fortunate people we. Scarcely another people in the past has been found able to inflame, as we have done, certain lives with the very innermost fire of the national ideal. With us at times the man and the idea have been almost indistinguishable. Peculiar types of character and peculiar crises have been united to get huge gains for human progress. Let us recall some of these:

In the preeminently experimental stage of American democracy we broke the bonds that held us to Europe and established a union of States for the common good. In the second stage we enabled the popular heart to offer a challenge to the foes of what had been after a sort a hypothetic nationality. In the third stage we translated a theory into fact and stood forth in the eyes of all men the sure and sane holders of the prize which old Time had offered to those worthy to win. The problematical was finally realized. The mere vision of other days had become the daily joy and commonplace story of later time.

At first the freemen of Washington's day saw men as trees walking. Against weighty odds they faced the future. A notable reaction was sweeping over the Old World in the last half of the eighteenth century. Washington's experiment pressed for recognition, an unwelcome guest, into the court of human judgment when such rulers as Joseph of Austria, Frederick the Great, and Catherine of Russia were the political fashion plates before which the incompetent George III measured himself and then tailored his sturdy frame in like-fitting garments. If one says the ideal of these great rulers —and most of them were truly great—was that of serviceable despotism, it yet remains that, while they were benevolent, they were despotic. The people's share in the benefits of government was a matter of course, but the people's share in governing was out of the question. In such a time rose up the young nation of the West and, finding its basic principle in the rights of a strong self-governing democracy, challenged all comers for right of way, substituting for the reactionary paternalisms of Europe the blessings of the first great popular government of the ages.

Our fathers outlined a continental scheme. They must have room for the fullest trial. It mattered not if Frederick the Great had sneered at the folly of such men as Adams and Henry and Franklin, saying that a democratic government could not succeed upon a large domain. Was it true that only an empire could hope for glory when handling with imperial virility the vast concerns of a widely extended territory, and must a republic be reduced to a few square miles to be enduring? Was monarchy alone to be massive? Folly might smile with scorn before the event, but History laughed afterward over the manly work of her wiser children, as brave as wise. To-day the descendants of the men who fought our sires have come to see that what was gained by our triumph was gained in part for them as well as for us. The American Revolution saved the day for English parliamentary prerogative. We won indeed for ourselves, but the mother country reaped a rich harvest, and the grain was of

the same planting that rooted itself in the bloody soil of Trenton and Saratoga, the grain of representative government. How the men and the movement fitted together! They shine like twin stars in the heavens. Each leaned upon the other and gave the other help and larger life. The Western world, when it sought a leader as sample of its life, was marvelously fortunate. Indeed, the right man was more easy to find than the correct form of government. Happy folk they, not to have to ask patient and pitying consideration from onlookers, in the fear that they had no match in manhood for their prize governmental hypothesis. Did ever a people start so high? The most important motion passed by the Continental Congress was that which appointed Colonel George Washington, of Virginia, as general of the tattered American army. Patrick Henry voiced a common feeling when he said, "If you speak of solid information and sound judgment, Colonel Washington is unquestionably the greatest man upon that floor." Yet how completely the chosen man was to fill the eyes of all men, the world around, the eloquent patriot could not know. When the wearying war had ended the soldier was found to be a statesman, and it was due to him in very large measure that the jealous opposition of some of the States to the adoption of the Constitution was abated: what Washington favored could not be unwise; the man was worth volumes of argument; his personality transcended all other persuasions. When, again, the constitutional provisions for a chief magistrate were to be put into operation the universality of consent in turning to Washington for first President will always compel us to think that the makers of the Constitution had him in mind all the while as the only suitable leader—too wise to blunder, too courageous to shirk, too unselfish to promote his own good at the nation's cost, and too great for envy. When we apply the supreme test of character, that of a man's use of power, to the tall Virginian, to what crests of moral grandeur does he not ascend! When his official work is done he goes back to his estate a private gentleman, the first citizen of the world. Thus he gave to

the American theory its indubitable proof of ability to swing the ages around to where the immediate triumph of a daring experiment and the rational hope of still nobler achievement might anoint, as with the oil of a holy vision, the eyesight of mankind. Washington built himself into the Constitution, and both of these have been taken to heart by the American people for evermore. Does anyone ask what was his best gift to this people? He gave himself first, and himself last. What this was is well put in the words of the leading English historian of that period. According to Lecky, "Of all the great men in history he was the most invariably judicious, and there is scarcely a rash word or action or judgment recorded of him." Not only Americans but Englishmen learned that in him "America had found a man who could be induced by no earthly motive to tell a falsehood, or to break an engagement, or to commit any dishonorable act. Men of this moral type are happily not rare, and we have all met them in our experience; but there is scarcely another instance in history of such a man having reached and maintained the highest position in the convulsions of civil war and of a great popular agitation." This, then, was Washington's supreme contribution to the solution of the double problem of democracy and nationality. It is evident that when the makers of the Constitution were gathered together in the summer of 1787 they were not attempting to fashion a perfect instrument of government, not a flawless paper of human rights nor a matchless method of securing them, but the burden of their counsel was to lift high the scaffold of constitutional provisions up against the rising manhood of the ages and thus become the largest guarantee of tremulous human hopes and the most sanguine prophecy of an emancipated humanity. They addressed themselves to the ultimate task of great souls. "I cannot play upon any stringed instrument," said Themistocles, "but I can tell you how of a little village to make a great and glorious city." Thus it was with them in general and with Washington in special. There was much that he was not. That is of small concern. But one

immortal thing he did, and that was to transform the eighteenth-century political Valley Forge of wintry despair into the nineteenth-century heroism of effort to rival his splendid example. Was not this enough?

Thus we got our start. The movement was on. A few decades swept by. The Mississippi valley filled with a race in whose laps were lying a million babes ready for call to defend the Union. Another epoch ushers in the "reign of Andrew Jackson," as Von Holst calls it. Here for the first time the people, somewhat aside from their leaders, had won. What a poor prophet was John Adams, who wrote in his defense of the Constitution in 1787, "The rich, the well-born, and the able must be separated from the mass, and placed by themselves in a Senate"! In the second stage we see for the first time a popular gripping of the idea of nationality. This was no mean triumph. Democracy recognized nationality, and each got honor from the other. The great West had won in placing the warrior of New Orleans at the head of all the people. There was much pride, also much chagrin, but the lesson of nationality resting upon the popular heart was well worth the learning even though attended by much that was coarse. Even though the capital of the nation felt the vulgarizing tone of the administration, yet it was an immense gain to have democracy come to amicable terms with nationality. Jackson was the medium of this communication. He was the borderer's incarnate impatience of restraint; he was narrow, willful, impulsive, but honest, brave, energetic, and conscious of duty. While he demanded subservience from his followers, and his court was now and then a camping ground for flatterers, he was loyal to his friends and the soul of chivalric courtesy to womankind. Jackson was democracy despotized in behalf of nationality. He represented the sentiment of nationality in and from a section wherein the sentiment was yearly becoming imperiled through the combination of an unsettled constitutional question and the enriching growth of slave labor. In him a partisan leader became the personification of the national idea. He was a slave owner,

but he loved the Union. While he loathed the abolitionist, he detested the nullification creed of the South. In his challenge to Calhounism he lifted from peril the ideal of Washington, and the great proposition was not lost sight of, but was cared for till such time as the North, more insistent against the spread of the contrary idea of the South, should also find itself able to cope with the opposition that would be sure to come when the South discovered its way was being hedged about and its chance of successful conflict lessening with each passing decade. But no open physical force was yet to be used. Wrath spent itself in words. The President stayed strife till argument could be made. How wonderful that scene in the United States Senate when Hayne and Webster crossed their shining blades! After the debate was ended each side had spoken its utmost. Concrete fact was to follow with its justification of the "national idea-force" that inspired the discussion. No one could know at the time how later history would speak. It is interesting to note how differently thinkers measure the values of the arguments used in the historic debate. Some hold, with Senator Lodge, that Webster's position was historically unsound, though prophetic. In this Professor Woodrow Wilson seems to agree when he says that Hayne had the old and Webster the new ground—for Hayne rested his case on the premises of Jefferson and the attitude of the New England Federalists, in the minds of many of whom the Constitution was a compact from which the several States did not lose their right to secede. Others differ from this view, and as proof, in part, point to the fact that even South Carolina in the first quarter of the century was an ardent supporter of the Union and condemned the action of the Hartford Convention. Houston, in his "Nullification in South Carolina," agrees, and goes further to say that, while it is true that in a sense the North advanced to the position and assumed the utmost consequences of Webster's argument, South Carolina had retrograded. While keeping up with the progressive forces till about 1820, and in the front rank, she then called a halt, and finally became

obstructive. It is significant, in either case, that the logic of Webster found its highest validity in the seal of battle interpretation, when a mighty host died to prove the argument worth the making, and among the number was the son of the orator.

When we take our stand in the middle of the century we find the problem has grown exceedingly complicated in the passing years. We cannot say that the experiment of uniting democracy and nationality has failed, but it has been severely strained. Neither democracy nor nationality is quite sure of its position. It is true that the implications of our present attitude toward both of these elements of progress lay couched in the Constitution, yet scarcely one half of the adult manhood of the early days enjoyed suffrage rights, while the conviction of a national destiny found, even up to the days of Seward, Phillips, and Greeley, slender hope of defense in the words of statesman, orator, and editor. It was Phillips who railed at the great document; it was Greeley who began as an abolitionist and, when the strife waxed hot, favored separation; Seward had spoken of the "irrepressible" conflict, and yet he minified the gravity of the situation on the eve of the most colossal civil war of the ages. The inevitable had come, and with it the supreme test of all the noble aims, speculations, and plans of the father of our republic. The crisis was of double proportions since both ideals were menaced—for with disunion democracy was sure to suffer. The effort of the seceding States carried with it the logical results of its own illogical defense: if a dozen States could revolt from the original Union why not one or more from the late confederation? This was evident in the attitude of Governor Brown, of Georgia, who talked back vigorously to Jefferson Davis, and in the spirit of Zebulon B. Vance, of North Carolina, who threatened in 1863 to order out the State militia to exclude the troops of President Davis from the State. As to the second loss, that of popular rights, the possible break-up of the Union foreboded a reaction toward aristocracy. The number of slaveholders was steadily de-

increasing in every decade in proportion to the whole Southern population, and political power was passing, as by faith, into the hands of the men whose economic advantage carried over into social and political supremacy. Not only was the Union in peril, but also one of the slowly gained ideals of manhood right was near its burial—or its triumph. How both of these were saved is the familiar story of a million firesides. The new times and the new type of man came together: such another lover of the Union and such another defender of the manhood ideal was not to be found among men as Abraham Lincoln proved to be in the hour of need.

The test of nationality is at hand. The test of democracy is at hand. Both will suffer irremediable wrong if either falls by the way. Did ever two of civilization's ideals cry more strenuously for restatement and restoration than in the "sixties" of the nineteenth century? The nature of the extreme difficulty of the problem is not hard to discover. A sectionalized economics went hand in hand with a sectionalized theory of both these vast questions. So far from the vehement protestations against slavery that fell from the eloquent lips of some Virginia members of the Constitutional Convention of 1787 had the South inevitably, we might say necessarily, changed that the opening of the war hears the great leader of Georgia, Alexander H. Stephens, saying that the institution of human slavery was a part of the foundation of the Confederacy. Abraham Lincoln combined within himself the fashion of the manhood ideal that, slowly emerging from the strife of the ages, had now come to the very front, and the national "idea-force" for whose discernment and defense he was an agent of God. The nation was as his own life. An election of the skies rested down upon him and sustained him in dark hours. The world knows how he wrote, spoke, wrought, lived, and died for his ideal. What divine patience, what unequaled wisdom, what courage unfaltering, what faith in man and God were his till the end came, and he went up the hero-trod path to join the "hundred and forty and four thousand" who sing the song of the ages because it is the song of redemption.

It was a war of Titans. Defeat was no disgrace. Valor bloomed upon both sides with reckless profusion. Henry Ward Beecher truly described it when he was nagged and twitted by the English crowd to whom he spoke like a sailor shouting in a storm. They said in derision, "Why don't you whip them?" He shouted back, "We are not fighting Englishmen; we are fighting Americans!" This tells the story as no other words could do. What wonder that men's hearts shook with nameless dread. It was a picturesque and withal a pathetic sight when the newly elected President stood upon the high portico of the Capitol to deliver his first inaugural. The unfinished and scaffolded dome towered overhead. It symbolized the unfinished Union. Was it ever to be completed? Would men come to see in it the ghastly evidence that we as a people had to content ourselves with an arrested growth of the republic? The man down there, his hat held in hand in simple courtesy by his old antagonist, Douglas, was taking an oath from the aged Chief Justice Taney to give his honor and his life to the preservation, which meant the completion, of the nation. The old speech of the "house divided against itself" took on a new significance, and the trembling hand of the man who had written the Dred Scott decision ushered to power the mightiest grip of the times when Lincoln reverently touched the book. Mighty hand it was. Bryce has remarked, "Abraham Lincoln wielded more authority than any single Englishman has done since Oliver Cromwell." In the discharge of the duty laid upon him what trust did he betray? Not the nation's. What work did he not finish? He found a people, like Hale's man, without a country, and when he died the landless, homeless, and chatteled throng had found a home.

His legacy was "Union and Liberty." On his way to Washington he paused at Philadelphia, the 22d of February forty years ago, and spoke in Independence Hall upon the occasion of a flag raising. In his clear and penetrating voice he said: "I would rather be assassinated on the spot than surrender that sentiment in the Declaration of Independence which

gave liberty not alone to the people of this country, but to the world for all future time." So he belongs to the ages by virtue of his own words. He still leads the procession of freemen united to herald the world's brighter and happier day. He saw the day for which the fathers had yearned. Leaving out of the field of comparison for the moment Jackson, the Gibraltar of the "thirties," we are justified in saying that the three mightiest conflicts of the English-speaking race fell in the seventeenth, the eighteenth, and the nineteenth centuries. Under Cromwell we got the right of what seemed at times the most suppressed thing—free parliamentary speech; for no Stuart dared again to revive the absolutism of bygone days. In the time of Washington we founded a nation having for its basis an intelligent democracy. In the days of Lincoln this undismembered nation proclaimed to the world, for a finality, "With much expenditure of life and treasure I have set seal to my right to enter the glorious company of nations!" With what unearthly grace did she then walk forth after her baptism of blood, clad in the seamless garment of the ages—an enduring, a majestic nationality. On the hem of her flowing robe are a few names that are among the world's immortals, and they flush crimson in the light of exposure, for they have been engrossed in blood. We still linger by McKinley's bier, great martyr of liberty won by law.

Lincoln's chief claim to greatness lies in the fact that he represents above all else the moral course of history. He was truly the express image of the common man struggling into his kingdom. If democracy had only a partial hold of the helm in the days of the Revolution and Washington set forth the splendid unselfishness of aristocracy toiling for the general weal, and if in the epoch of Jackson democracy contended for its own with hearty, almost fierce, energy, we may say that in Lincoln, not aristocracy with all its dignity, nor even democracy with all its pith and spring, but humanity with its ladder of visions by the side of weary pilgrims, its mighty espousal of the cause of the slave and the oppressed, its insight into need, its omnipotence in aid, the Good Samaritan

of the ages, this rose equal to the supreme hour. By many, if not most, observers of our swelling westbound host a hundred years ago it was little thought that the hard-handed sunburned forester was anything of an idealist, yet one of the chief lines of light in the portraiture of American life is lost when we are measured by materialism alone. This double glory of the past century, its sentiment and its bitter toil, shone about the brow of many a modern Plato trailing after the plow and discovered a new Socrates upon the banks of the Sangamon. "Of all Presidents," writes Henry Adams, "Abraham Lincoln has been considered the most typical representative of American society, chiefly because his mind, with all its practical qualities, also inclined in certain directions to idealism." This is a true estimate. Lincoln's idealism was humane; it was missionary in character; it was unselfish; it worked out from within; it sought the common good; it horizoned the globe. This man was not a scholar, and yet he illustrated the momentum of the centuries as few men have done. He walked out of the past into the future the familiar companion of the great constructive spirits of the past. The trend of the ages he saw most clearly. He thought sanely. His logic was that of an ethical universe. He lived "not to destroy, but to fulfill." The two books that were the furnishing of his mind point the finger to the quality of his inner life that breaks out now and then into song and speech and law. The Bible and Shakespeare afford lofty sentiment its rarest models of artistic expression and are grounded upon the moral law of progress. Upon these Lincoln fed with appreciation and appropriation of their twofold supremacy of form and truth. In the Gettysburg gem is the art and in the Emancipation Proclamation is the moral grandeur of the biblical and Shakespearean universe. The first rivals the noblest English in the British Museum, and the second is the wisest contribution of one man's will and love to the humanities of an heroic, a shining, a sacred age. He gave himself to us, and we make him our contribution to the world. Carlyle says, "Italy produced one world-voice; we Englishmen had

the humor of producing the other." It is true that he is here crowning literature, and yet let us press into the court of Queens and cry aloud the name of the Kentuckian, son of Illinois, the "first American" with his great world-voice. As would as the Florentine, he would have walked the seashore with Dante and found in him welcome for the griefs of the prairie sorrow. He was also the soul of humor, and the author of Falstaff and Puck would have banqueted in the laughter of the most potent ruler of the century. So we say, put us down for one of the great "world-voices."

Now a pregnant question: Have we exhausted ourselves in producing such men? Are our best in graves? Or, to put it in other fashion, will their work abide? Is the ideal of democracy already becoming a back number, and is imperialism or socialism to assume the scepter?

Mrs. Browning in the first half of her "Casa Guidi Windows" is thrilled with hopes for the unification of Italy. But in the latter half of the poem the great Englishwoman is saddened by the half-hearted, selfish, and idle-minded Italians who were contenting themselves not with rising up against their oppressors, but with scattering flowers upon the spot consecrated to the fame of the martyr priest, Savonarola. In this mood she sang:

> Still graves, graves, when Italy is named,
> Still, still the stranger's hate, the patriot's tomb.

And was this all? Was Italy in the graves of the past? Was there no resurrection? The answer came far sooner than the poet dreamed, for dead time had not spoiled the future. All Italy awoke when the red shirts of Garibaldi marched up the Apennines singing their resurrection song:

> The sepulchers are open, the dead have arisen,
> The martyrs of freedom have burst from their prison.

Then all the good of old Italy rushed in to reinforce all the good of living Italy. Nor did the day at hand lose its own touch of heroism. Not now Scipio, the Gracchi, and Savonarola, but Cavour, Mazzini, Garibaldi, and Manin led the way up the steep incline of toil, of sacrifice, and of enduring vic-

tory. So be it with us, pray God, in coming days when imperative crises shall appeal to the men of the time for due service. They must not be, they will not be, lacking. We are rich in the past, with its dowry of great lives lived for a great cause, and we shall not need to turn tramps in the procession of the times yet to come.

Some things are gained and will abide. Nationality has never had such recognition as in the turn of the century. Never has the country cherished this ideal with so becoming a fervor as in these momentous days. The anarchist is the weakest agent of wrong to affect seriously for ill our national life. What more splendid proof of the stability of the republic could be found than in the devotion of the South to the ideal against which it strove half a hundred years ago? What nobler crown of praise and confidence can be noted than in late words of Senator Hoar: "I believe, if every man of the North was to die, the new and chastened South, with the virtues it has cherished from the beginning, of love of home and love of State and love of freedom, with its courage and its constancy, would take the country and bear it on to the achievement of its lofty destiny"? Nor will democracy be imperiled so long as we apply the right standards of life and liberty and law to the individual who asks for the privilege of sharing in the progress of a mighty self-governing people. Democracy with us does not mean the rule by the majority of the depraved, the ignorant, the degenerate. Certain well-known limits will and ought to operate against either universal suffrage or universal self-rule. Age, character, intelligence, education, are, either by custom or statute, bars to the so-called right of the individual to share in government. Human progress may remove some of the limits, not by an absolute elimination, but by a transformation of inability, vice, and their fellows into worthy opposites. The future is not likely to cast aside the experience of the past touching approved restrictions.

The late expansion of our national life is deepening the conviction, especially in the minds of all who hold to the fa-

of our divinely blessed mission among the peoples of earth, that now as never before must we abate the noisy "jingo" and address ourselves to a supreme task. For the present, good order and democracy may not be easily combined in the territories of the Pacific. We cannot afford to forget that we are the product of centuries of discipline and are bred to a sort of automatic ability to keep the peace and secure the benefits of liberty at home. But not all men are upon this plane, and we shall not be disheartened if our new wards are slow to rise to it; but the latest declaration of the highest office in the land sets us before the world as we wish to be put, for President Roosevelt speaks thus of the Philippines—as a true prophet, we trust: "We hope to do for them what has never been done for any people of the tropics—to make them fit for self-government after the fashion of the really free nations." These are right words for the leader of a people whose aim is to lift up and not to lord it over feebler brothers.

As to the demands of socialism, we shall need to make it plain that the brotherhood idea is able to solve the knots which current social unrest is stiffening into serious difficulty. Surely one of the signs of real progress is the growing sensitiveness over human conditions where inequality and injustice and inability seem to crowd the path. It is rather that men are fearful that what has been gained may suffer in the effort to make further gains than unequal to the hugeness of the task of the day. This spirit is to be commended. The optimist is he who is watchful and self-denying. He sees, perhaps, the pendulum swing toward imperialism and away from democracy and hears the socialist cry out the coming down-leveling of the rich and the strong. He asks if the truth is that way, and whatever of truth he finds in the new faith he is willing to incorporate in his growing creed. He is sure that whatever does not minister to human uplift is not of God, but of the devil. The pendulum will swing back in time, and men will think to better profit when the practical tests of progress shall have been applied.

Let America stand for justice, for equality of opportunity.

Let us make it the stern synonym of Law. Let us make it the blithe synonym of Liberty. Let us make it the sweet synonym of Peace. Be it ours to mingle the privilege of the man with the power of the government by wisest welldoing. Let us say to wealth, Thou hast a duty; and to poverty, Thou hast hope. To those who find refuge in our land let it be told that we demand respect for the blood-purchased heritage, and Europe must not undermine our brave institutions. To those to whom we have gone with our "far-flung battle-line" let us say, We mean to protect you against all who would quench your hopes of ultimate democratic institutions. Our coming is not for mere commercial exploitation, but for inspiration to nobler life. Our flag must float after this fashion.

If the Church ever had a message it is now. We have done too much not to do more. All we have done points to all we are ever to do. Who so fearful as not to flame with valor to-day? Who so weary as not to beg the privilege of toil for our cause? Who so dwarfed as not to long for the stalwart life, and say, again and again, "Not to be ministered unto, *but to minister*"?

R. L. Stevenson

Art. IX.—THE LEGEND OF THE HOLY GRAIL.

It is somewhat remarkable that, while a knowledge of the ancient myths of Greece and Rome is almost universal, an acquaintance with the legendary history of our own race is so infrequent and imperfect. Every schoolboy is familiar with the adventures of Jason and the Argonauts, of Agamemnon and Achilles, has followed the wanderings of "much-planning Ulysses" and of pious Æneas, and knows by heart the story of the wolf-reared cubs of Rome. Yet comparatively few, even of educated persons, are acquainted with the stirring tales of chivalry recorded in the English tongue by the ancient chroniclers, or have any but the most meager knowledge of the goodly company of Christian knights at Arthur's court, whose deeds of valor filled all Christendom with their renown. The publishing of Tennyson's beautiful "Idyls of the King" attracted popular attention to this subject, the interest in which was increased by the appearance of "The Holy Grail" and other Arthurian poems.

This legendary lore is not only of great interest in itself, but is also an unexhausted treasury of the finest poetical material, and has exercised a striking and important influence on English literature. From it Spenser derived many of the finest features of his wondrous tale of faery; Milton designed making the Arthurian legend the subject of a great national epic; Bishop Heber, Dean Milman, and Sir E. B. Lytton have constructed noble poems on this beautiful theme. It is the basis of Lowell's beautiful "Vision of Sir Launfal," and of several fine poems by Owen Meredith, William Morris, and other recent writers. Nor is the mine whence these have dug such golden nuggets yet exhausted. This legendary literature is very voluminous. Southey's edition of "Le Morte D'Arthur," reprinted from the Caxton Black-Letter copy of 1485, fills two goodly quarto volumes of about five hundred pages each, and contains only a small part of the original material—the interminable chivalrous romances from which

it is compiled. The Arthurian Cycle, as it has been called, has been compared to the classic myths of the Labors of Hercules, and the marvelous achievements of the old Homeric heroes. The resemblance, however, is but casual and slight, and the difference of underlying principle is world-wide. A far loftier ethical tone pervades the chivalric romance than that of the classic mythology. The influence of Christian thought elevates it to an entirely different sphere of morality. The worship of ideal purity in the person of the Virgin-mother, the enthusiastic championship of oppressed virtue and innocence, the gentle ruth and chivalrous courtesy of the Christian knight, attest the nobler inspiration of his acts. Even when, by the glamour of Satan or the spell of an enchantress, he falls into sin, the keenness of his remorse, and the ceaseless upbraidings of conscience till his soul be assoiled from guilt, assert the superiority of his moral standard to the loftiest conceptions of the classic muse.

The intense realism of the Northern mind gave to its religious views an objective character, which to the more subjective theological opinion of modern times often appears grossly materialistic. The weird mythology of the gray old North received from the savage scenery and rugged mountains, from the desolate fiords and swirling maelstroms, amidst which it was cradled, a somber and mystic character. Its gods were the incarnation of savage force, and it rendered supreme homage to superhuman strength and bravery. Of this character has its romance—its sagas and its runes—partaken. Even when transferred by the migrations of the Northern nations to the more genial climes of Provence and Bretagne, or to the hills and valleys of Cambria, its legends continued to express their admiration of hardy virtue and romantic valor in man, and of stainless purity and constancy in woman. When to these native qualities was added the influence of Christian ideas these virtues become idealized and refined beyond our ordinary conceptions of the possibilities of a barbarous age. With the religious feeling of the Middle Ages was mixed much of mere human emotion

Christ was regarded as a mystical heavenly spouse, and the Virgin Mary as a sort of spiritual bride, absolute fidelity to whom required the abnegation of all earthly ties. Hence the extravagant praise of celibacy and the prevalence during these so-called "ages of faith" of the monastic and conventual orders. Tennyson finely expresses the sentiment in his poem of "Sir Galahad:"

> How sweet are looks that ladies bend
> On whom their favors fall!!
> For them I battle to the end,
> To save from shame and thrall.
> But all my heart is drawn above,
> My knees are bowed in crypt and shrine;
> I never felt the kiss of love,
> Nor maiden's hand in mine.
> More beauteous aspects on me beam,
> Me mightier transports move and thrill:
> So keep I fair through faith and prayer
> A virgin heart in work and will.

The British legend bears a much closer resemblance to the *fabliaux* and romances of Charlemagne, and of the peers and paladins of France, than to the classic mythology. Some have even asserted that the story of Arthur is only another version of the history of the great Cæsar of the West, and that the British prince was a purely mythical personage. But there wants not abundant evidence in the legend, in local allusions and ancient traditions, of the veritable existence of that "flower of kings" in the region of sober fact, as well as in the realm of romance and poesy. The greater prominence of Charlemagne as the champion of Christendom in the conflict with the Saracen, and his more happy fortune in finding such a poet as Ariosto to embalm his illustrious deeds in immortal verse, may explain the clearer identification of his person among the mythic heroes of romance than that of the patriot prince of the ultimate dim Thule of the West. King Arthur, according to the ancient romance, was one of the nine great heroes of the world, the others being Hector, Alexander, and Julius Cæsar; Joshua, David, and Maccabeus; Charlemagne and Godfrey de Bouillon. He kept high court at Camelot, and feasted daily at his great round table

A glorious company, the flower of men,
To serve as model for the mighty world.

His magic sword, Excalibur, became the property, we are assured, of England's lion-hearted king, Richard I, who bequeathed it to Tancred, king of Sicily. His body rests at holy Glastonbury, or, according to the legend, "was borne in a mystic barge to the island valley of Avilion, whence in the hour of his country's need he shall come again and win the holy cross." For his marvelous exploits he has taken his place, like the old demigods, in the firmament, and his name is perpetuated in "the seven clear stars of Arthur's Table Round," or, as they are called in Shakespeare, "Arthur's Wain," and by us the "Great Bear." He dwelt in the mystic border land between reality and faery, and seems allied to both. The stately figures of the old romance stalk before us in the shadowy eld—the dim, gray dawn of history—like the unsubstantial ghosts of Ossian's vision, or like the specters summoned by the necromantic art of some potent Eastern magician.

The favorite exploit of the knights of the round table was the quest for the Holy Grail, the story of which illustrates in a striking manner the moral and religious sentiment of the times. The Holy Grail, or San Greal, as it was also called, was originally (so runs the legend) the marvelous cup wherewith Pharaoh used to divine—the cup that Joseph put into the mouth of Benjamin's sack. It became also, by what process of transmission we are not informed, the property of King Solomon. It was by gazing into this mystical cup that he become endowed with that profound wisdom which was his distinguishing attribute. In course of time this sacred possession came into possession of our Blessed Lord and, it was said, was the very cup out of which he partook of the last supper; and thence it derived its name, San Greal, that is, *sanguis realis*—the real blood. This mysterious chalice was next inherited by Joseph of Arimathea, who, according to mediæval legend, colonized the country of Wales, and carried thither the Holy Grail.

The cup, the cup itself, from which our Lord
Drank at the last sad supper with his own.
This, from the blessed land of Aromat—
After the day of darkness, when the dead
Went wandering o'er Moriah—the good saint,
Arimathean Joseph, journeying brought
To Glastonbury, where the winter thorn
Blossoms at Christmas, mindful of our Lord.
And there awhile it bode; and if a man
Could touch or see it he was healed at once,
By faith, of all his ills; but then the times
Grew to such evil that the holy cup
Was caught away to heaven and disappeared.

For this hallowed cup could be retained in the possession of those only who lived pure and holy lives, and was at once the test and the reward of virtue. Its reappearance on earth is thus described by the nun in Tennyson's poem:

Sweet brother, I have seen the Holy Grail:
For, waked at dead of night I heard a sound
As of a silver horn from o'er the hills
Blown....and the slender sound
As from a distance beyond distance grew
Coming upon me—O, never harp or horn,
Nor aught we blow with breath, or touch with hand,
Was like that music as it came; and then
Streamed through my cell a cold and silver beam,
And down the long beam stole the Holy Grail,
Rose-red with beatings in it, as if alive,
Till all the white walls of my cell were dyed
With rosy colors leaping on the wall:
And then the music faded, and the Grail
Passed, and the beam decayed, and from the walls
The rosy quiverings died into the night.
So now the holy thing is here again
Among us. Brother, fast thou too and pray,
And tell thy brother knights to fast and pray,
That so perchance the vision may be seen
By thee and those, and all the world be healed.

In the old legend its apparition at King Arthur's court is narrated in this wise: "As they were all together a sunbeam entered, clearer by seven times than they ever saw day, and all they were illumined by the grace of the Holy Ghost. Then began every knight to behold the other fairer than ever they saw before. Then no man spake a word for a great while. Then entered into the hall the Holy Grail covered with white samite; but there was none might see it, nor who bare it.

Then was all the hall filled with goodly odors, and the holy vessel suddenly departed, and they knew not whither it went." Tennyson's beautiful paraphrase of this passage will at once be recalled. It was the sacred duty of each knight to seek through all lands for the Holy Grail, and to ride for at least a twelvemonth and a day on the solemn quest; but only those could hope to win it whose lives were spotless and pure. So Sir Lancelot, though for knightly devoir, for valor, and for courtesy the perfect flower of Christian chivalry, yet for "the great and guilty love he bore the queen," was unworthy of this lofty guerdon. Only Sir Galahad, of all King Arthur's knights, had grace to see the Holy Grail. His quest is thus described in one of Tennyson's earlier poems:

A maiden knight—to me is given
Such hope, I know not fear;
I yearn to breathe the airs of heaven
That often meet me here:
A gentle sound, an awful light!
Three angels bear the Holy Grail:
With folded feet in stoles of white,
On sweeping wings they sail.
Ah, blessed vision! Blood of God!
My spirit beats her mortal bars,
As down dark tides the glory slides,
And starlike mingles with the stars.
Then move the trees, the copses nod,
Wings flutter, voices hover clear:
"O just and faithful knight of God!
Ride on! The prize is near."

In mystic armor clad, and bearing "Arimathean Joseph's" invulnerable shield, he fights the Seven Deadly Sins, resists the most terrible temptations, and overcomes all his foes, both ghostly and bodily. At length, in answer to his fervent prayers, Christ appears, bleeding yet glorified, bearing in his hands the Holy Grail. A mystical light, like that of Tabor, envelops the prostrate knight, divine odors regale his senses, heavenly music is heard, and he receives with awe the sacred vessel in his hands. He trembles with holy ecstasy, and dies, like Moses, of the kisses of God's lips, and is taken up bodily to heaven. Very beautiful and of deep spiritual significance

in this legend, existing in an age of rapine and of blood. It seems to have been a personification of religious faith; and its influence on a rude and barbarous community must have been most salutary. Doubtless many a stern old knight was moved to tender ruth and gentleness by its sweet and solemn spell, and many a sad recluse was filled with holy joy by its beatific vision.

The Holy Grail is now deposited, it is said, in the Cathedral of St. Lawrence at Genoa; but more truthfully, according to Lowell's beautiful interpretation of the olden myth, whoso gives a cup of cold water in the name of the Lord Jesus, finds thereby the Holy Grail.

> He parted in twain his single crust
> And gave the leper to eat and drink;
> 'Twas a moldy crust of coarse brown bread,
> 'Twas water out of a wooden bowl,
> Yet with fine wheaten bread was the leper fed
> And 'twas red wine he drank with his thirsty soul.
> The leper no longer crouched by his side,
> But stood before him glorified;
> And a voice that was calmer than silence said,
> "Lo, it is I, be not afraid!
> In many climes without avail
> Thou hast spent thy life for the Holy Grail:
> Behold it is here—this cup which thou
> Didst fill at the streamlet for me but now;
> This crust is my body broken for thee,
> This water His blood that died on the tree;
> The holy supper is kept indeed,
> In whatso we share with another's need."*

A prominent characteristic of the chivalric legend is its absurd extravagance of action and exaggeration of sentiment, and its strange blending of love and religion. The adventures of the knights outrage, with the *naïveté* of a fairy tale, all the possibilities of fact. These ancient warriors were of such astonishing prowess and such dauntless valor; the difficulties they met were so portentous; the giants they fought were so terrific, and dwelt in forests of such supernatural gloom, or in castles of such baleful enchantment; their magic armor was of such unearthly proof, and their swords of such ethereal

* "The Vision of Sir Launfal."

temper; the ladies were of such wonderful loveliness, yet of such rigorous austerity; and the magicians weave such potent spells, that we feel ourselves treading the unsubstantial ground of fantasy and breathing its enchanted air. Yet there are wonderfully realistic passages as well. The tilt and tourney, the battle and banquet, the hunt with horn and hound, with kestrel and falcon, are described with marvelous vigor and fidelity.

Concerning the general characteristics of this romantic literature Addison, in his pleasant vein of badinage, remarks:

> In books of chivalry, where the point of honor is strained to madness, the whole story runs on chastity and courage. The damsel is mounted on a white palfrey, as an emblem of her innocence; and to avoid scandal must have a dwarf for her page. She is not to think of a man till some misfortune has brought a knight-errant to her relief. The knight falls in love, and, did not gratitude restrain her from murdering her deliverer, would die at her feet by her disdain. However, he must waste many years in the desert before her virgin heart can think of a surrender. The knight goes off, attacks everything he meets that is bigger and stronger than himself, seeks all opportunities of being knocked on the head, and after seven years' rambling returns to his mistress, whose chastity has been attacked in the meantime by giants and tyrants, and undergone as many trials as her lover's valor.

Those tales were great favorites with our mediæval ancestors, who found in them a relief from the tedium of the intervals of the chase, and war, or its mimic counterpart, the tournament. They beguiled many a long winter's evening, as knight and page, fair ladye and sweet damozel, gathered round the blazing fire in oaken hall, in the merry yuletide,

> While without the tempest thundered,
> And the castle turret shook.

Their narration would tend to cultivate high thoughts of gentle courtesy, and inspire an enthusiastic love for noble deeds, and a scorn of wrong and hate of all that was low or mean. The old romance was not so easily exhausted as the modern sensation story, with its breathless plot and headlong incident, with its mystery and its horrors, but held

its stately course through perhaps a thousand quarto pages. To its simple auditors the marvelous achievements of its heroes seemed no whit less probable than to the readers of to-day the events of modern story. The belief in magic, in the power of gems and talismans, in the wondrous properties of holy wells, of relics, charms, and sacred spells, brought the strangest events within the realm of probability. The astonishing travelers' tales of Sir John Mandeville, and of the wandering pilgrims and palmers returned from that mysterious wonderland—the East—made the accounts of dwarfs and giants,

> Of antres vast and deserts idle,
> Of cannibals that do each other eat,
> The anthropophagi, and men whose heads
> Do grow beneath their shoulders,

seem quite commonplace.

Throughout the whole legend personal purity, knightly honor, and religious faith are set forth as the attributes of truest chivalry, and the essentials for deeds of mightiest emprise. The following noble words, which Tennyson has put in the mouth of Arthur, faithfully represent the ideal character of knighthood as portrayed in the old romance:

> I made them lay their hands in mine and swear
> To reverence the king, as if he were
> Their conscience, and their conscience as their king,
> To break the heathen and uphold the Christ,
> To ride abroad redressing human wrongs,
> To speak no slander, no, nor listen to it,
> To lead sweet lives in purest chastity,
> To love one maiden only, cleave to her,
> And worship her by years of noble deeds,
> Until they won her; for indeed I knew
> Of no more subtle master under heaven
> Than is the maiden passion for a maid,
> Not only to keep down the base in man,
> But teach high thought, and amiable words
> And courtliness, and the desire of fame,
> And love of truth, and all that makes a man.

But the fair design of Arthur in the institution of this order of knighthood was doomed to disappointment. Like every great reformer, he was destined to see his lofty ideal marred

and defaced by the faults and follies of others. Like the close of some dark and dreadful tragedy, like the fall of the direful and inexorable fate that overhung the house of Atreus, are the last scenes in the history of King Arthur's court. The olden circle of brave knights is broken and scattered by this phantom quest. Queen Guenevere, the flower of love and pearl of beauty, for her deadly sin with Lancelot—most trusted of her husband's friends—falls from her lofty place, like the sun from the sky at midday, and brings a dire eclipse on all the land. The revolt of Modred, the intestine wars that convulse the land, the ruin of the kingdom, and the death of Arthur and the queen in swift succession follow.

The garrulous chronicler in "Le Morte D'Arthur" makes Lancelot, as he stands beside the graves of the king and queen, thus moralize on the ruin he himself had wrought:

> When I remember and call to mind her beauty, bounty, and nobleness, that was as well with her king, my Lord Arthur, as with her; and also when I see the corpses of that noble king and noble queen so lie together in that cold grave made of earth, that sometime were so highly set in most honorable places, truly my heart would not serve me to sustain my wretched body. Also when I remember how by my default, my orguility, and my pride, that they were both laid full low, wot ye well that this remembrance of their kindness and of my unkindness sank and impressed so into my heart that all my natural strength failed me, so that I might not sustain my life.

In solemn valediction the pious chronicler exclaims:

> O ye mighty and pompous lords, shining in the transitory glory of this unstable life; ye also, ye fierce and mighty chevaliers, so valiant in adventurous deeds of arms, behold! behold! see how the mighty conqueror, King Arthur, also his noble queen, Guenevere, that sometime sat in her chair of state, adorned with gold, pearls, and precious stones, now lie full low in obscure fosse, covered with clods of earth and clay. Behold also this mighty champion, Lancelot, peerless of knighthood, see how now he lieth groveling in the cold mold, now being so feeble and faint that sometime was so terrible, now in what manner ought ye to be so desirous of the mundane honor that is so dangerous?

W. H. Withrow

Art. X.—LORD ASHLEY, SEVENTH EARL OF SHAFTESBURY—A STUDY OF PHILANTHROPY.

> We boast some rich ones whom the Gospel sways,
> And one who wears a coronet and prays.

Cowper's word for Lord Dartmouth, the Methodist earl whose name is on the New Hampshire college, speaks for one who in the following century wore an earl's coronet and prayed. The peers of England, whatever they may have done in war or government, have scant record for benevolence. The life that went out in 1885 was not only a golden thread in the tangle of English politics; it was a spectacular, dramatic comment on that utterance of Talleyrand's, *"noblesse oblige,"* or that loftier, "Let him that is greatest among you be your servant." Of England's "noble six hundred" of peers none had ever made such record for his country or for mankind.

In each of the two centuries preceding the Shaftesbury line had won distinction. Anthony Ashley Cooper, the first earl, had seen the stormy times of Cromwell and the Restoration. His slight frame thrilled with wondrous energy. As a boy he by personal effort and appeal at court had rescued his ancestral estates. When freshman he led in reforms and dislodged the seniors from some rank, inveterate abuses. At eighteen he was chosen to Parliament, and at twenty-two was in the saddle at the head of regiments of his own raising. He at first sustained the king, then Cromwell, then Parliament. Under Charles the Second he struggled in channels strait and dangerful and in his last five years his breaking health told sadly on his temper and judgment. The masters of rhetoric, from Dryden to Macaulay, artists in light and shade, have found in him a fascinating subject, and darkly enough have they drawn him. Our later times of restitution which have given Cromwell his own and placed him in stately marble at Westminster Palace, where for twenty years his gibbeted skull was grinning, have asked of this earl's merit, and

Christie and Traill have shown where justice lies. His course in the Protectorate and after, changeful as amid shifting winds and currents uncharted, was uniformly tending toward the supremacy of Parliament, the freedom of religion, and a generous policy in commerce. His "trimming" of the ship of state was sufficiently inconsistent, but "a fig for consistency" in times like those! The earl, though Charles made him earl and gave him the Carolina grant where yet the rivers bear his name to Charleston, was incorruptible. No estate from Cromwell, no gold from French or English king, came to his hand. He founded government by party where before it had been personal, and was the first great party leader. As an obvious consequence of this he was also the founder of parliamentary oratory, making against the Uniformity Bill three hundred speeches! He died in Holland, but his tomb is at Wimborne, in the England for whose welfare he was strenuous, where his ancestors were buried, with whom two hundred years later his illustrious descendant was gathered. The second earl, "born a shapeless lump like anarchy," says Dryden, was a poor creature, and the third earl passed into the care of his grandfather and the educational guidance of Locke the philosopher. He was studious, being at eleven master of Latin and Greek and in society and European travel seeking the company of the thoughtful and devout. Though ardently fond of philosophy and the ancient classics, he counted himself called to the public service, and at twenty-five he entered Parliament. His first effort was a failure—and a success! It was proposed to allow no legal counsel to those indicted for treason. He rose to speak against injustice so enormous, but he utterly broke down. "If I, sir, who rise simply to express an opinion, am so confounded, what of the man who without assistance is pleading for his life?" This sudden thought, touching the House, swept all argument, and the bill was lost! His failing health removed him from public life, and he gave himself to philosophy. He was religious, scrupulous in support of the Church, generous and benevolent. Christianity in those troublous

times seemed to him a failure. So it later seemed to John Wesley, a lad of ten when Shaftesbury died, but Wesley found a force of revival!

Shaftesbury brought into English the phrase "moral sense," which, with a Deity of wisdom and goodness, forms his moral system. His ideas were admired, and Pope's "Essay on Man" seems but their poetic rendering. They fascinated thinkers on the Continent. "A newborn Hellenism," says Herder, "a divine culture of beauty, is before his inspired soul," while Lessing and Voltaire welcomed and adopted many of his thoughts. He was the most amiable—one may say the most orthodox—of Deists, and as one reads his views of the answer of a good conscience, of the divine goodness, and of the order of the world, "One thing thou lackest" seems sadly readable between the lines. Wesley might have said of him as traditionally Paul said at Virgil's tomb, *"O quem te fecissem si noveram te!"* His last work, an edition of *Characteristics,* is in manuscript at the British Museum. He died at forty-two in Naples after a sad, kindly life, in which he had steadily preferred the welfare of others, such a life as warmed to faith, love, and sacrifice in his illustrious descendant a hundred years thereafter. The deistical school of France and Germany, of course, admired him, but all, even his most effective antagonists, as Bishop Butler, placed him for his purity, patriotism, and generosity high on the scroll of a century bright with illustrious names.

The seat of the Shaftesburys, one of the "stately homes of England," dating from the early thirteenth century, is in Wimborne St. Giles of Dorsetshire, yet for two hundred and fifty years no earl has had birthplace there. The seventh earl began life with the last century in London. From his parents, though they were of the "leisure class," he had worse than neglect. But the Providence that furnished a nurse for Moses cared for the infant Ashley. He came into the love and prayers of a venerable housekeeper, Maria Millis, simple, devout, and sympathetic—"the best friend I ever had." She taught him at seven his first prayer; dying, she gave him a

watch which all his life he wore as a memorial of her. At Chiswick School he met every cruelty, and thus his fifteen years of life's morning brought him nothing of child life in gayety and gladness. Suffering, instead of hardening his heart, gave it tender sympathy, and when at fourteen, he saw rude men with drunken song carrying to burial a comrade, "only a pauper whom nobody owns," he resolved to make his life a ministry to the poor. At Oxford a wise tutor heartened him to study. A degree seemed to him unattainable, for his school had done little for him, and he doubted his talents. "Ah, Lord God, why me?" was the early keynote of his self-renouncing life. Yet he won a first in classics, *summa cum laude*. Turning now, as members of peerage families are wont, to public life, he at twenty-six, as Lord Ashley, entered Commons for twenty-five years of service. Unassuming, thoughtful, and courteous, he at once gained the attention and confidence of Canning and of the Duke of Wellington. "Why am I so useless? Why not eloquent and manly?" he in private groaned, but others were already of other views. In a year he was offered a place in the ministry.

At the beginning of the century the treatment of lunatics was the most barbarous of England's barbarities. The insane were vaguely held to be possessed of evil spirits, to be fiends toward whom no cruelty was too severe. The young member's first speech was on Gordon's bill for reform in their treatment, and thenceforth he was dubbed "the friend of lunatics," "the member for bedlam." His appeal made him chairman of the lunacy commission for fifty years. It did more: he that day fixed his course of life. His choice, more serious than that of Hercules in the story of Prodicus, was between ease, influence, high place, and the cheers of friends, and of toil, care, and estrangement, of life not among peers but among the poor, the crushed, the helpless. He decided "for the honor of God and the help of man," and from 1828 his every resource of time, energy, and fortune went to the bettering of the condition of the needy.

At this time he found a wife whose price was far above

rubies. Of the noble house of Cowper, the daughter of many earls, she, unlike Clara Vere de Vere, was "one to be admired"—

> A noble woman, wisely planned
> To comfort, counsel, and command,

and more. Her temper of love, labor, and sacrifice so blended with her husband's ideas that at home he was refreshed with more than "the only bliss that has survived the fall," with perfume like that with which Mary made fragrant the house at Bethany. Of their ten children those who died before their parents left record of gifts and graces and, above all, of personal piety such as held the household to blest unity as one family in heaven and in earth, and softened nature's invested order with reasonable, religious, and holy comfort. At his marriage with "that bright and beautiful woman" he had become of noble presence, tall and graceful, of face tender and majestic, with tones clear, gentle, and commanding, so that, while a peer among peers, the degraded, the guilty, the furious felt in him, back of love's light and sweetness, the dignity of law and born authority.

Just when "by the roots of an old tree at Huddlesford" Pitt arranged with Wilberforce for a bill against the African slave trade England's industry was inaugurating a slavery worse than African. The machinery of the mills made child labor useful, and children were set to labor. Of this system's nature one sample will serve. In Manchester thirty-five thousand children under thirteen and over five worked fifteen hours a day! The rest need not here be told. Good men had resisted this horror, but Sadler, the last, with his ten-hour bill, had been driven from Parliament. Ashley was asked to become its champion. This meant toil and cost, the sacrifice of all a nobleman's perquisites of leisure, home, society, and self-indulgence. "It is your duty to go forward," said his wife, and forward he went. In 1833 his task began. "Strengthen me for this service!" was his prayer. Fourteen years of conflict, expenditures, personal efforts with the operatives, with mill owners, with members of both Houses,

the bill passed, and with glad hand Victoria signed it. "Praised be the Lord!" said Ashley. In 1860 his wife, then countess, received at Manchester a marble bust of the earl, paid for in pennies by those blest in his toil. A task thus wrought for factory operatives he took up and achieved for the colliers, whose wrongs were as loudly crying for redress. He visited these as well in their pits and home hovels and himself saw their griefs and learned their sorrows. Then from his London home he saw mankind not merely as in the artist's aerial perspective, more interesting by remoteness, but in Grosvenor Square he found outrage and took no rest until the employment of children as chimney sweeps was broken up and abolished. In fact, he had no perspective. All was with him in the living present; India and China were not beyond his finger's reach. He was early put upon the India Board. He proposed to break the horrid suttee, the burning of the widow on the husband's pyre. "It will make them kill every Englishman in India!" was the cry. Yet suttee *was* abolished. Ashley was horrified at the opium traffic and the opium war, and urged the giving of the choice opium lands to food products. In this, a lifelong effort, he failed. "All very well," said the financial Gladstone, "but tell me, where are those ten millions of revenue to come from?" So the black spot in England's Eastern policy abides to this day.

Now came royal regards. It had been intimated that after ancient usage a peer should now have office in the royal household. Prince Albert assured the prime minister that Lord Ashley from the Commons would be gladly taken. Ashley could not leave his sacred career, but his relations with the palace were close and tender. "How can we," asked the prince, "show our concern for the working classes?" "Go with me to their homes, then preside at one of their meetings!" The prince went with Ashley through the slums, and later, as chairman, spoke at a Laborers' Friend Society so kindly and wisely as to win the hearts of all. Henceforth he and Ashley were hand in hand, and the queen's interest in Ashley's work was intense and personal.

Now began Ashley's journeyings oft about London. "I have traveled very much about Concord," said Thoreau, and Ashley's travels over a region narrower than Concord were as untiring as Livingstone's in Africa, and, like them, to probe and heal an open sore. London had recesses, indeed, regions, like the dank, steaming forests of the African dwarfs. Into these Sir Robert Peel's police system now made entrance possible, and Lord Ashley lost no time in entering. Here is no time to tell the oft-told tale of the miseries of the submerged. He made himself their brother; he took on his heart their hunger and cold, their vice and ignorance, and in all their affliction he was afflicted. From his house in Grosvenor Square went one winter ten thousand bowls of soup for the starving; from him began the ragged schools; from his hand rose the first model tenement house. He framed a loan fund by which the flower girls of Covent Garden were able to establish themselves in small supporting industries when the flower trade was out of season. He did the same for the costers. He touched every sore and suffering place in London's gloom, and touched none that he did not brighten and relieve.

In 1851 he became earl. The first World's Exposition was at hand. The exhibition was full as an arsenal of devices for destruction, the trophied arts of war. The earl urged Prince Albert, its president, to give the Bible a showing. He argued from the Bible's intellectual exploits. It had given a written language to thirty peoples; had uttered itself in four hundred tongues, and all within the memory of men yet living. What achievement was greater than that? The reluctant prince saw, and the Bible came to its own place. The earl was that year made president of the Bible Society until his death. His first speech to the "statues of the House of Lords" was for the registration and inspection of lodging houses. Their cold life warmed under his appeal, and they passed, says Dickens, "the best law ever passed by an English Parliament." For Dickens tenderly responded to the earl's efforts, shoeblack brigade, ragged schools, flower girls, costers,

training ships, farm schools, colonization bills, and all. The earl's finances were ever in a changeful play of light and shadow. He, though invited, took no office which bore a salary; his expenses were paid from his hereditary estate. This had once been large, but, as more than one peer sadly knows to-day, a large estate, to be kept large, is no sinecure, and its clear income may be slender. Shaftesbury could not serve two masters; his benevolences absorbed his thought, and his losses by stewards were at one time a quarter of a million, and they would have been more had not Lord Palmerston, kinsman by marriage and true friend, come to his rescue. When the queen would give the earl the knighthood of the Garter, now for six hundred years England's noblest decoration, he declined the ancient honor that he might spend in charity the five thousand that the event would cost. Palmerston, urgent, paid its expense, nor was this his only gift. The earl sold ancestral paintings and outlying lands; he lived as plainly as his rank would allow, not scrimping his family in the culture due their social place, and for all his life his account was overdrawn. With charity beginning at home, he built at St. Giles a laborers' village, the cottages being civilized and separate, each in its quarter acre, with rent at a shilling a week. The earldom, some eight square miles, on the whole suffered, but better than surplus of gold was the welfare of the Ashley family, the gifts and graces of the earl, the countess, their sons and their daughters! The present earl, the first born on the estate for three hundred years, came in 1881 to such a lineage. At length large sums from good people began coming to Shaftesbury's hand, but his work widened in growth like a tree by the rivers of water, blessing with shade and fruitage every grade of English society and every land abroad, so that whatever might come he was always an exhausted receiver.

Shaftesbury had little time for society, and the elegant leisure habitual to a peer he was compelled to ignore. At Windsor he had always a cordial welcome; not one of all her subjects had more than he won the queen's regard. He had

a passion for science, a longing for astronomical research, and was offered the chancellorship of Oxford. To all this his answer was, "One thing I do!" That one thing was service to the wretched. Yet this service had its recompenses. One day that he was ill four hundred poor people called at his door to inquire of his illness. The men and women whom in twenty years he had raised up to teach ragged schools gave him an oil painting with seventeen hundred personal signatures. These were to him apples of gold around a picture of silver, prized in his heart above university dignity or command of armies or wielding of empires. His comfort in his family's tender sympathy with his work, and the blessing of them that were ready to perish, gave him a compensating harvest. He also lived to win the regard of peers whose mansions he was too busy to enter.

Shaftesbury looked beyond London, and even far away from England. American slavery, Russian cruelty in Poland, the black and bright of the Crimean War, the Sepoy Mutiny, the struggle of Garibaldi, all came to his heart, and with money, pen, and tongue he furthered every movement for saving health among all nations. Men do not gather grapes of thorns. A career so sympathetic, toilsome, self-renouncing could be sustained by none other than the mind which was also in Christ Jesus. The first earl had been intensely Presbyterian; the seventh was intensely Episcopalian, but more intensely Christian. At thirty-five he was already presiding at an effort to increase Gospel labor in England, and for nearly fifty years he urged the Pastoral Aid Society, furnishing worship, sacraments, and pastors for places destitute, which, being "outside of Church order," Gladstone refused to aid. The clergy gave Shaftesbury small comfort. "At my first answer no man stood with me." For twenty-five years "as usual no clergy were there," and in 1855 eleven bishops opposed the repeal of an old law that forbade worship by more than twenty in any private house! It was repealed by a majority of one peer! Shaftesbury loved the Church and struggled for her bettering. Opening his own meetings with

prayer, he explained the Saviour's words in rooms crowded with the poor and the vicious. So he did in the open air, and so he urged others to do. He got a clergyman to hold in Exeter Hall evening service for five thousand people, and when the parish rector, backed by the Archbishop of Canterbury, forbade this he turned to the nonconformists beyond Episcopal control. The meetings went on, and in 1865 seven theaters opened Sunday evening in service for twenty thousand people, himself sometimes leading in prayer, reading, and exposition. His heart went out to Spurgeon and to Moody and Sankey. In all this, as in all his life, the secret of his strength was his deep, simple religious experience. "According to His power that worketh in us" was his word at evening, noon, and morning.

He wore well. His eightieth birthday, at which few marks of age were visible, was a festival. England's noblest and best crowded the Guild hall, with flower girls, costers, ragged scholars, and samples of all for whom he had lived and labored. The eulogists were the lord mayor, the Earl of Aberdeen, and, chiefly, William Foster, a mill owner who could tell directly of the earl's widest work, while Argyle and Salisbury added earnest testimony. The thousands cheered, and for once, at least, the voice of the people seemed the voice divine! A costly portrait of himself was given him, and here his career seemed likely to conclude. "I cannot bear to leave this world with all the misery in it!" There were yet five years of service before the untiring wheel broke at the cistern and the ever-strained silver cord was loosened. At evening time it was light. In May of 1885 he presided and spoke at the Bible Society, at the Ragged School Union, and at the Flower Girls' Mission, and was still urging benevolent legislation. In June he took his last round of his enterprises, and in July came a long farewell to the London of his love and toil. At Folkestone, by the sea, he slowly failed. His room, amid all the ministries of affection, was chiefly tuneful with mentionings from his own lips of the loving-kindness of the Lord, especially of the rich past, present, and

feature flowing continuously through the twenty-third psalm. On October 1 he "passed through glory's morning gate and walked in Paradise." Dean Stanley had offered a tomb in Westminster Abbey. "No, St. Giles!" said the dying earl. The funeral service could not be elsewhere than at the Abbey, and the pageant even surpassed that of Wilberforce. From Grosvenor Square the long streets were lined with representatives of every class for whom he had labored and every benevolence which he had cherished. All wore something of mournful black and bore craped and mottoed banners. Royalty joined with the girls of Covent Garden in wreathing the casket; the noblest of the land crowded the vast building, and its ancient walls echoed songs of gladness for the life of a saint to glory gone. The next day he was laid with his kindred at St. Giles, but millions are yet saying, "The good earl! We shall not see his like again!" *Per aspera ad astra!*

As Wilberforce passed from the evening horizon, there was rising in the opposite heavens this orb of still greater luster to reign for half a century lord of the ascendant. So complex now is London benevolence with seven hundred organizations spending their yearly millions; so great is the company of them that work in all lands for the welfare of our race, that no individual can again be so distinct and conspicuous as Wilberforce and Shaftesbury, whose labors bless the century from 1785 to 1885 and stream forth upon all coming centuries. If in human infirmity and limitation Shaftesbury did such service, how must he serve as ministering spirit in the heavenly enlargement!

Thou wert the morning star among the living
Ere thy fair light had fled;
Now, having died, thou art like Hesperus giving
New splendor to the dead.

A. B. Hyde

Art. XI.—ESSENTIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE PREACHER.

The last fifty or possibly twenty-five years have wrought a striking change in the thought of the preacher's office. The old-fashioned word or title for the minister was "parson." We rarely hear this title used now, except in jest. The etymology of the word is interesting. It is derived from the Latin word *persona,* which means person. So parson and person are the same word. And the word parson was applied to the minister "because by his person the Church, which is an invisible body, is represented." So in the olden time the minister was "the person" of the community. His *ipse dixit* was accepted at its face value, like fiat money. Mrs. Earle has pictured in her *Sabbath in Puritan New England* of the supreme authority and power and sanctity of the minister. She tells us how the early colonists were punished if they ventured to criticise the minister or his sermons. A New Haven man was severely whipped and fined for declaring that he received no profit from the minister's sermons. And the Windham Church, in Connecticut, was scandalized beyond measure because one of its members declared, "I had rather hear my dog bark than Mr. Bellamy preach." Threatened with expulsion for his blasphemous utterance, he made public confession and promised to "keep a guard over his tongue" and to listen to Mr. Bellamy's preaching. The minister was regarded as above the rest of the people, and above their criticism. He felt himself superior to the members of his flock, and when he did not domineer over them he patronized them. The relation the minister felt that he sustained to the people is well illustrated by the sermon of an old preacher on the cooperation of the clergy and the laity, taking for his text Job i, 14: "The oxen were plowing, and the asses feeding beside them." But this ancient idea of the preacher has entirely changed. The old-fashioned reverence for "the cloth" has fortunately passed away. The minister

has come down from the pedestal where the old Puritan conception put him, and has taken his place by the side of the physician, the lawyer, the teacher, the merchant, to be judged not according to the position he holds, but by the work he does, and by the same standards that other men are judged by. There are some people who regret this change, and deplore the passing of the parson. But the change is a distinct gain to the cause of Christ and the effectiveness of the preacher, who must now be a man among men, not some one distinct from and above them, if he is to point them to God. And men will judge him not by his office or his pretensions, but by his service and his character as a man. If he is to fulfill the mission of a Christian minister he must remove as far as possible from the parish priest of whom some quaint poet has written:

A parish priest of Austerity
Climbed up in a high church steeple,
To be nearer God, so that he might hand
His word down to the people.

And now and again, when he heard the creak
Of the weather vane a-turning,
He closed his eyes and said, "Of a truth
From God I now am learning."

And in sermon script he daily wrote
What he thought was sent from heaven,
And he dropped this down on his people's heads
Two times one day in seven.

In his age God said, "Come down and die;"
And he cried from out the steeple,
"Where art thou, Lord?" and the Lord replied,
"Down here, among my people."

The preacher must feel deeply the conviction that he is called of God. The first thing that strikes us about Paul is his deep conviction that he has been called of God to his apostleship. We are almost surprised to see how constantly he puts this conviction forward. Nearly every letter that he writes opens with some form of the words, "Paul, called to be an apostle through the will of God." And in the firm assurance of this truth lay much of his power. It would be difficult to find a great man who felt more strongly his own in-

significance than Paul. We listen to him as he tells us that he was "not meet to be called an apostle;" that he is "the least of all saints;" that he is "the chief of sinners." And yet, deeply as he felt this, he was none the less overwhelmingly certain that he had been called to be God's messenger; and to all who questioned his authority he declared that he had received his apostleship from God and had been commissioned by Christ, the Lord. "Paul, an apostle, not of men, neither by man, but by Jesus Christ, and God the Father," are his words in defense of his right to teach and preach. And the splendid courage and freedom with which he speaks is due to the conviction that his words were not his own, but His who had commissioned him. In this we have an explanation of the heroic boldness with which Paul stands, firm as the eternal hills, against the slander of his enemies and the wickedness of his times. He never hesitates to command the churches, to rebuke the foremost man in the Church, to warn, to reprove, and to exhort. While he himself would never have aspired to such a position, he knows that God has called him to it, and with the authority of God behind him he fears not hardship nor defeat, wrath of man nor fury of devils. And the preacher of to-day must realize himself to be just as surely called of God as Paul was. It is in this inward certainty that the hiding of the preacher's power is to be found. We have an easy way of getting rid of this solemn obligation as it relates itself to our lives, by saying that God called the apostles as he does not call men to-day; that they were inspired and lifted above ordinary humanity. But he who does not feel, like fire in his bones, the conviction that he is called of God to the work of the ministry as truly as were the apostles of old would better step down from the pulpit and give way to the man who does. The life and work of any man will lose the noblest impulse and inspiration unless he believes that his life's work is approved of God. Let a man feel that his profession or line of work is merely the result of a purposeless choice or of chance, and his best energies must be paralyzed. Called to be a physician, a lawyer,

a merchant, a manufacturer—is he irreverent who believes that? Let a man feel, "God has put me here to minister to the body, to make wagons, to sell dry goods, to teach children," and there will be inspiration and power in his work. But while it is perhaps possible for a business man to make a measurable success of his life without believing himself called to it by God, no preacher can possibly succeed, in any worthy sense, without a profound and intense conviction that he is divinely set apart to his great work.

This brings us at once to the heart of our thought, namely, that the chief characteristic of the preacher is that he is an ambassador of God, and comes bringing a matter or message from his Sovereign. He must feel as John felt when he said, "That which we have seen and heard declare we unto you." And this means that every living preacher must receive a communication direct from God. As Dr. Horton, of Oxford, said a few years ago before the theological students at Yale College: "This is the only justification of preaching at all. The man is set apart to address his fellow-men, sometimes men who are his equals or his superiors in knowledge and ability. Why should they listen to him? There is no reason why they should unless he has been in the secret cell of the oracle and has heard God speak. Has he not heard God's voice? Is he not repeating a message? Then assuredly he will fail. To be God's mouthpiece when God is not speaking through him is a fraud of the palpable kind which men will not away with. All manner of sins may be forgiven a preacher: a harsh voice, a clumsy delivery, a bad pronunciation, an insufficient scholarship, a crude doctrine, an ignorance of men; but there is one defect which cannot be forgiven, for it is a kind of blasphemy against the Holy Ghost; it cannot be forgiven him if he preaches when he has not received a message from God to deliver." The preacher is to go direct to God for the truth that he is to deliver. He is to speak to God face to face in holy meditation and prayer, receiving God's word into his heart, and then he is to go into the pulpit and declare to men the message he has thus

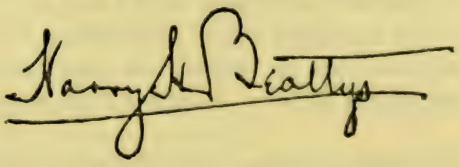
received. The chief cause for lack of power in the average preacher is a failure to feel, when he enters his pulpit, that he has a message from the King of kings. We believe with Phillips Brooks that the people will pass us by and pity us if they see us standing in our pulpits and saying to them, "We know nothing particular about these things whereof we preach; we have no authority; only come here, and we will tell you what we think, and you shall tell us what you think, and so perhaps together we can strike out a little light." This is not preaching, whatever else it may be, and men will pass such uncertain sounds by and hurry on to find some one who can tell them the mind and will of God.

This, of course, presupposes that God will reveal his truth to men to-day as he did to men of old. And we do not shrink from the logic of this supposition, but firmly believe it, and do not see how we can believe otherwise, unless we are ready to accept the other alternative that God left off making known his truth to men when he closed the particular revelation which we call the Bible. But who can believe this? Who for a moment can believe that the only communication God meant to give to men is shut up in a little volume which we can put in our inside coat pocket? Is it true that the whole and final message of God was given to the particular men of old who wrote the Bible, and that God has no further revelation of himself to give to men? Where is the proof to show that God has not been speaking to his saints and preachers from the time the canon was closed down to the present day? Has not God spoken as truly to Luther, and to Wesley, and to Maurice, and to Frederick W. Robertson, and to Horace Bushnell, and to Phillips Brooks as he ever spoke to prophet or apostle of old? Is not Frederick Robertson right when he so grandly says: "Love God, and he *will* dwell with you. Obey God, and he *will* reveal the truths of his deepest teachings to your soul. Not *perhaps*, but as surely as the laws of the spiritual world are irreversible and as certainly as the laws of the physical universe abide, these things are prepared for obedient love. An inspiration as true, as real, and a-

certain as ever prophet or apostle reached is ours if we will have it so"? Was not Lowell right when he sang:

> Slowly the Bible of the race is writ,
> And not on paper leaves or leaves of stone;
> Each age, each kindred, adds a verse to it,
> Texts of despair or hope, of joy or moan.
> While swings the sea, while mists the mountains shroud,
> While thunder's surges burst on cliffs of cloud,
> Still at the prophet's feet the nations sit?

There is room here to say but one thing more about the preacher, namely, that the message he receives from God and is to deliver to men is Jesus Christ. To declare him and his salvation is the chief function, aye, the *only* function, of the preacher. He must say with Paul, "I am determined to know nothing among you, save Jesus Christ." This is the supreme business. And when a preacher fails in his work the cause is almost certain to be found in this, that he has neglected his chief business. No truer words were ever uttered than those of Dr. R. F. Horton, of Oxford, England, when he said: "No man who leaves Christ as a forgotten frontispiece at the beginning of his ministry, or as an antique picture hung in the dark corner of his study, can ever really preach." Vasari tells us that Michael Angelo used to carry a candle stuck on his forehead in a pasteboard cap, so as to keep his own shadow from being cast upon his work while he was hewing out his statues. So must the preacher keep the shadow of himself off the Christ he preaches if he is to be a true prophet of God.



EDITORIAL DEPARTMENTS.

NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS.

In the editorial office of this *Review* short, pithy articles are much in demand. We are overloaded with many excellent articles which are so long that it will probably be impossible to find room for them.

John Milton once wrote to an old friend: "You ask what I am about—what I am thinking of? Why, with God's help, I am thinking of immortality. Forgive the word, it is for your ear alone—I am pluming my wings for flight."

A fine saying, and characteristic of a rarely beautiful man, was that of Bishop Ninde: "The only way I can keep a happy heart is to love everybody and refuse to take offense." Of similar import is the following, from William R. Alger's notebook: "To cherish a personal enmity is to make an altar of a hateful thought and sacrifice your peace of mind on it."

In 1892 a young man in Denver, Colo., who had doubts about the divinity of Christ, told his pastor that if Mr. Gladstone affirmed his belief in that doctrine he would accept it. A note was sent to Gladstone, and though it reached the great old man in the midst of the election excitement, when England was voting whether he should at the age of eighty-three be for the fourth time prime minister, he found time to send the following in his own handwriting on a postal card: "All I write and all I think and all I hope is based upon the divinity of our Lord, the one central hope of our poor, wayward race. W. E. Gladstone."

The Sunday morning preceding his second inauguration, going home from Metropolitan Church, Washington, after hearing Dr. Bristol preach, President McKinley said to his guest, Mr. Hawk, proprietor of the Manhattan Hotel, New York city, "I have never been able to see how any man realizing the responsibilities of life can live without acknowledging a Divine Provi-

science, or how he can get along without the inspiration of being connected with some kind of a church."

We are told that Thomas Carlyle and Milburn, the blind preacher, once sat smoking in the little arbor back of the house in Cheyne Row. They had been talking of Tennyson, and after puffing away in silence for a long time Carlyle knocked the ashes out of his pipe and said with a grunt: "Ha! Death is a great blessing—the joyousest blessing of all! Without death there would have been no 'In Memoriam,' no Hallam known to us, and like enough no Tennyson!" Carlyle and many others believed that the death of Arthur Henry Hallam was the making of Alfred Tennyson. "Possibly," says one, "his soul needed just this particular amount of bruising in order to make it burst into undying song—who knows?"

In one of those animated dialogues in J. P. Mowbray's library, that vivacious, keen-witted woman Irene points out with graphic eloquence how, as she sees it, the boasted superiority of Hellenic ideals went down under the blows of the tentmaker of Tarsus. She says substantially:

When Paul made his speech on Mars' Hill to the Athenians he was at close quarters with Hellenism, and he treated it as if he were a democrat and not an aesthete. I wish I knew how he was dressed on that occasion. I can't help picturing him in homespun, with hard hands and tanned face with lines of pain in it, standing among the white-robed Areopagites and bowling down all the things that Hellenic culture doted on. And he cleaned the deck, he swept the field; every one of his blows landed squarely between the Hellenic eyes.

The Athenians had a number of sensitive spots, and he hit them straight.

1. They were autochthons, born on the sacred soil of Greece, and immensely puffed up about it. And Paul said to them, "God made the whole world—it is all sacred—and all things therein."

2. They glorified architecture, and were especially vain of their temples. Paul said, "The Lord of heaven and earth dwelleth not in temples made with hands."

3. They devoted their genius to sculpture, especially admiring and adoring their statues of gods and goddesses. Paul said, "The Godhead is not like unto gold or silver or marble graven by art and man's device."

4. They called all the rest of the world barbarians, and thought them unfit to be on the planet. Paul said, "God hath made of one blood all nations of men to dwell on the face of the earth."

5. They prided themselves on being such broad religionists as to include in their vague and impartial worship all possible divinities. Paul said, in substance, "Your worship is ignorant. God has long borne with it out of pity for the blindness of your minds. But now that the darkness is past and the true light shineth, he calls you to repent of your idolatries and to be instructed by

the man Christ Jesus whom he hath raised from the dead, and in whose gracious face you may behold the light of the knowledge of the glory of the true and living God."

Irene says that while she was reading Paul's sentences she kept saying "Biff," "Biff," at the end of each one, as his straight hard blows struck home, and the dainty fond ideals of Hellenic culture fell down into the dust.

SIDNEY LANIER ON MUSIC.

More than twenty years it is since the richly gifted spirit of Sidney Lanier passed into the heavens, his "unfaltering will rendering its supreme submission to the adored will of God;" yet his manuscripts have not all been printed. His wife, Mrs. Mary Day Lanier, measures out to an eager public, from time to time, installments from the literary remains of a brief and hampered but prodigiously industrious and prolific life. The most recently published is a paper on "The Music of Shakespeare's Time," printed in the January and February numbers of *Lippincott's Monthly Magazine.*

Lanier was a musician first and a poet afterward. The primal passion of his soul was music. He himself said, "I could play well on several instruments before I could write legibly, and since then the very deepest of my life has been filled with music." Asger Hamerik, director of the Peabody Symphony Orchestra of Baltimore, said of Lanier: "To him as a child in his cradle Music was given—the heavenly gift to feel and express himself in tones. His human nature was like an enchanted instrument, a magic flute, or the lyre of Apollo, needing but a breath or a touch to send its harmonies out into the world." Few men have ever lived to whom music meant what it meant to Lanier. The last line of "The Symphony" is, "Music is Love in search of a word." In *Tiger Lilies* he wrote, "Music means harmony, harmony means love, love means—God!" To the fact that he was by his very genius divinely foreordained to be a priest in the temple of music, add the other fact that this rarely endowed man made a lifelong conscientious, scientific study of music, and it becomes reasonable to presume that his views upon music will have a certain intrinsic authority not to be lightly set aside.

The interest we find in the article in *Lippincott's Magazine* lies in its references to Church music and in some moral reflec-

tions on what is called "the music of Shakespeare's life." Lanier says that, in order to understand the kind of music which for centuries ministered to the souls of our elders in this world, we must go back a thousand years beyond Shakespeare. Gregory the Great collected and published, in the latter part of the sixth century, a number of melodies which had long been used in the Church service. This collection was called his *Antiphonarium*. These melodies thus brought together by Gregory filled a place of paramount importance in music for a thousand years and more. Lanier calls it "an inquiry of deep fascination to trace the origin of these melodies, now known as the Gregorian Chants, which for ages formed the stock in trade of all musical invention in Europe. For almost the first step in the inquiry leads us back from the sort of music Shakespeare was accustomed to hear to the sort of music our Lord Jesus Christ was accustomed to hear."

This inquiry proceeding backward finds, in the end of the fourth century, two hundred years before Gregory's time, another marked epoch in the history of music. Bishop Ambrose of Milan and his people were then suffering great affliction under the relentless persecutions of the Arian Empress Justina. And the good bishop called in the aid of sacred music to console and soothe his suffering people in the midst of sore afflictions. For their solace he directed that psalms and hymns be sung antiphonally in the churches, himself giving attention to many musical details and perfecting the scale so that then and there arose what became known as the Ambrosian Chant. Going back from the fourth century to the second, the inquiry finds that in the year 110 Pliny the Younger wrote a letter to Trajan, in which he describes the Christians as "meeting on a certain morning before daylight and singing by turns a hymn to Christ as to a God." And Lanier, noting that the next step in the inquiry takes us to Christ himself, writes:

> On that climacteric evening, when he and his disciples sat at their last supper, after he had blessed the bread and given it to them as his body, and the wine as his blood, and had declared, "But I say unto you, I will not drink henceforth of this fruit of the vine, until that day when I drink it new with you in my Father's kingdom," it would seem that the emotions of the moment had risen to that point where words do not bring comfort; and so I find the might of music working in the next verse (of Matt. xxvi, 30), which records, "And when they had sung an hymn, they went out into the mount of Olives." If we knew the tune of that hymn!
>
> Thus, as far back as the beginning of our era, we find the world in

possession of a stock of tunes. There can be little doubt that the melodies which the disciples sung with Christ in person were handed down and formed the body of those collections which Bishop Ambrose, and after him Pope Gregory, brought together, and it is possible enough that the hymn which Christ and his apostles sung was sung yesterday in some church of America, for we have tunes in our Psalmody which have come down from quite immemorial times, and the path of Church music, as I have shown, leads directly back to this hymn which was sung on the evening of the last supper.

Our musician-poet who built his nest on the greatness of God as the marsh hen builds hers on the watery sod, and who flew in the greatness of God as the bird flies in the freedom that fills all the space 'twixt the marsh and the skies, is always the pure moralist and sometimes the preacher. Thus he cannot close his study of the music of Shakespeare's time without turning to the music of Shakespeare's own life with such reflections as the following:

Consider for a moment the singular fact that the principle upon which all music depends is the principle of opposition, of antagonism. The least glance at the physical basis of sound will recall this clearly to your minds. Here is a stretched string. As stretched, it is exerting a force in this direction. If I pull it aside—disturb it—cross it, as it were, and trouble it—with a force acting athwart its own direction, it then, and then only, gives forth its proper tone, makes its rightful music. This principle is general throughout the physics of tone. The vibration which produces a musical sound is always set up by two forces, the one acting athwart the other.

Now it is not difficult to carry this idea over from the physical into the moral world. If it is a fancy, it is certainly not an unprofitable one, that a harmonious life, like a musical tone, comes out of opposition. Between each man and the world about him there is a never-ceasing antagonism. It is an antagonism which results from the very constitution of things. Just so far as I am I, and you are you, so far must we differ: the mysterious course of nature, which so often says "No" to our "Yes," with its death and its pain and its other mysterious phenomena—this joins with the force of each individual to oppose the force of each other individual. Everywhere there is antagonism, opposition, thwarting. No person who listens at this moment need go out of his own experience for a single day to find it.

Well, then, the problem of life may be said to be to control these moral vibrations which are set up by our troubles and crosses into those ordered beats which give the musical tone, rather than those confused and irregular pulses which result in mere unmusical noise. One man's life is like the mere creaking of a wheel, the binding of a saw, the grinding of bough against bough—mere unorganized noise; while another man's is like that clear and perfect tone of music which results from regular vibrations produced by two steady forces upon a proper material.

Lanier thinks the music of Shakespeare's soul-life was wrested

...t of the most fearful antagonisms. He feels certain that about ...dway in the great dramatist's career some terrible cloud came ...er his life which for a time darkened his existence with the ...ry blackness of despair. Shakespeare's writings indicate three ...riods in his life. In the first are found the bright, cheerful, ...rry products of his genius; in the second period, murky and ...tter tragedies, such as "Hamlet," "Lear," "Macbeth," and "Timon;" in the third period, plays sweetly breathing of reunion ...r absence, of reconciliation, of forgiveness of injuries, and of ...avenly grace, as in "Cymbeline," "Winter's Tale," "Tempest," ...d "Henry VIII." Somewhere, after life's early brightness ...ed, conflict came to Shakespeare. Antagonisms seized him ...d plucked him, like a stretched string, rudely out of position. ...t under the smiting touch he conquers sweet music from the ...ugh conflict; draws harmony out of oppositions, and converts ...tagonisms into ravishing melody. Then to his readers Lanier, ...e preacher, says:

> Permit me to hope that when life shall come to you, as the tutor of Katharine came to her, and shall hand you your lute with frets on it, ...u will not cry with the Shrew, "Frets call you them? I'll fume with ...em," but will look upon the frets as simply the conditions of harmony, ...d will govern your troubles to music.

IDEALISM IN ETHICS.

THE preacher who told his congregation that he hated the...gy and botany, but that he loved religion and flowers, may have ...en very witty, but his remark was exceedingly shallow. Un...s religion is to be the outcome of blind impulse in the absence ...f all reflection upon the significance and justification of re...ious practices and emotions there must be theology, however ...nsystematic it may be. And it is very certain that without ...tany there would be no cultivated flowers, and that even wild ...wers would stand but slight chance of preservation in populous ...gions.

Precisely so is it in ethics. All morality, whether it finds its ...pression in outward conduct or in inner spiritual conditions, ...st proceed, if it is intelligent, on some ethical theory. This ...ory may be that of egoism or of altruism, of hedonism or of ...dæmonism, or what not. One may have defined his theory to ...mself, and he may have reduced it to a system, or he may not.

But somewhere there is implicit in all moral action and feeling a theory according to which we conform the moral life. And this theory is often far more profound than is generally suspected. For even metaphysical theories have a way of filtering themselves down into the thinking of the common people and of making themselves effective in the unconscious logic of actual life. So that it is not too much to assert that the humblest individual is impelled in some measure by motives drawn from the highest conceptions the human mind can grasp. If this is so our philosophy at once becomes a matter of practical moment. It is no longer a question indifferent as to what metaphysics we maintain. In fact, our view of the world is so intertwined with conduct as to be removed from the sphere of the theoretical and to be transferred to the realm of ethical responsibility.

The great majority of thinkers hold that the roots of morality strike deep into metaphysics; but there are vast numbers who either thoughtlessly deny or are unaware of the connection. They are the kind that hate theology and botany but love religion and flowers. What possible difference, they will ask, does it make whether the artist knows the names of his colors if only he has a feeling for them? And on the basis of that question they are ready to assert that the art of painting can be divorced from a scientific knowledge of color. But the fallacy is clear to the reflecting mind. When the artist wishes to paint the Titian-red tresses of a maiden he need not know the name of that color, but he must, nevertheless, be able to distinguish it from all other colors when he sees it. And this power to distinguish color is just so far the subject-matter of the science of light. He knows the thing, though he does not know its name. Names are symbols, whose chief convenience is experienced when we wish to express a fact or thought, or describe an absent object to another. Under such circumstances the appropriate word becomes almost a necessity. The artist who wishes to associate with his fellow-craftsmen needs a vocabulary, though for his private use he might get on without it. But science is not constituted of a list of words. Science is the knowledge of things, and this the artist must have. He need not be able to tell any other one how to mix colors so as to produce the desired effect, and he may be entirely ignorant of the principles of color blending; but, though ignorantly, he must still have sufficient knowledge of a practical kind

to prevent him from making mistakes. And after all is said tending to show what the artist need not know, it remains a fact that at the basis of his art there is science.

In the same way one may live a thoroughly moral life without a conscious knowledge of metaphysics, but this does not prove that metaphysics has no place in ethical theory and practice. The positive proof that metaphysics does affect the conduct of all, even though many are unaware of it, is found in the fact that all reflecting beings hold some sort of a metaphysical system, however rudimentary, imperfect, or untenable it may be. Furthermore, most of us have some conception of God and of his relation to the world, and such a conception is a metaphysics; and it is notorious that no one can remain wholly unaffected in his moral life by his thought of God. If one is not influenced by his formal thought he is affected at least by its intensity or weakness.

An illustration of the connection between metaphysical theory and ethical theory and practice may be found in materialism. This admits of no spirit, divine or human. It is, perhaps, never consistently held; but if it were it would have to deny any divine or other superhuman light or aid on the pathway of life; any life beyond death, with its hopes to incite and sustain, or its fears to check us; any great dignity or meaning to life; any place for thought, which is but a sort of efflorescence from matter; any freedom, and hence any vitality in our moral judgments, or any real distinction between good and bad; and any personal responsibility for our character or conduct. It would have to deny motive and ideal, since everything is one endless chain of physical causation; and it would have to deny duty for a similar reason. Fortunately these ideas have never permeated any community for a very long period of time. But it is easy to see how, if they were to become prevalent, they would degrade each of us in his own eyes, rob our fellow-men of their right to be considered more than mere products of the physical world, like trees, or flowers, or beasts of burden, and reduce them to that plane where we should regard their lives only in proportion as they were useful to us. Such a metaphysical system, were it consistently carried out, could only produce results in the moral world like those just mentioned.

Not only does a bad metaphysical theory tend to weaken moral

endeavor, but the absence of a good one may produce a like result. There are vast multitudes who know nothing theoretically of materialism who, nevertheless, for want of truer conviction act on materialistic principles. The physical appetites and passions clamor for indulgence, and the material world affords them what they need. The spiritual impulses and aspirations are less clear and perhaps less powerful, as it is certain that the means for their gratification are less obtrusive. It is not so much that men deliberately choose physical pleasures before those of the mind and soul. Rather is it the absence of any emphatic call to higher things which leaves men to their downward tendencies. Were they fully persuaded of the existence of God and their true relations to him; could they but be made to see clearly their own dignity and worth as human beings, they would at least not go the downward road without some struggle against their lower selves, and many of them might be saved for higher things. Hence our plea for the popularization of metaphysics, and for the purest and noblest form of the same.

Idealism in ethics, then, does not signify the effort to reach the ideal in character and conduct as opposed to that reprehensible contentment with mediocrity in moral attainment which distinguishes so many of the easy-going classes. The contrast is not between the ideal and the so-called practicable in public and private life, but between metaphysical idealism and all other systems of metaphysics whatsoever. For the difficulties with which the idealistic theory is surrounded are, to say the least, not greater than those which beset any other theory, while its advantages for morals are vastly superior. This may be shown by a couple of comparisons.

Pantheism is one of the primary antitheses of idealism. What is the relation of pantheism to morals? The answer to this question is found in the simple statement of the principal elements of the pantheistic system, which admits the existence of God, but denies him the attribute of personality; which denies true personality to man by making him, so to speak, a part of the deity; which, therefore, denies individual immortality, personal freedom and responsibility, and, as truly as materialism, the place of motives and ideals in conduct. These things, if consistently held, would cut the nerve of moral endeavor. An enthusiastic pantheist might be, as Novalis said of Schleiermacher, a "God-intoxicated

man," but it is a well-recognized fact that very diverse toxic effects are produced by different intoxicants, and the followers of pantheism are not the only God-intoxicated ones. In fact, as compared with others they exhibit a striking absence of such intoxication and a corresponding intoxication with the world. And this naturally; for in their theory God and world are identical. The few may emphasize in their thought the divine aspect of the equation; but in experience it is shown that the majority are impressed with its world aspect.

Idealism, as truly as pantheism, sees God in everything, but in a different way. It does not make God everything, nor everything God. God is in his world, but he is not his world. Idealism makes God personal, and man also. Therewith it makes man free and responsible, and provides room for the play of motives and the inspiration and allurement of ideals. By virtue of his unending existence and his likeness to God man is enabled to estimate the costliness of the world if the price to be paid is his own soul, and to realize that by his very nature he is fitted and destined for companionship and affiliation with God. He that hath such thought big within him purifieth himself even as he is pure. Here the victory over materialism and pantheism is easy. The hardest struggle of idealism is always with the more refined forms of realism. Yet even here it must be said that idealism proves its superiority for ethics. This is not, indeed, true of everything that is called idealism. Many who rank themselves idealists are in reality only pantheists. Denying the reality of the external world and making the only reality God is an essentially pantheistic proceeding; and the ethics of such an idealism would of logical necessity be pantheistic. So also that idealism which, while affirming that God is real and the human mind is real, reduces the external world to a mere idea of the mind, would plunge us into an irremediable skepticism which would paralyze all efforts. Unless reality can be predicated of things about us we are left in utter confusion. Hunger, thirst, weariness, cold, warmth, sickness, health, physical injury, and physical well-being are all delusions from which it is our duty to disenchant ourselves as quickly and as thoroughly as possible. Attention to questions of food and drink, raiment and rest, temperature and sanitary conditions, would be but the cherishing of the persistent illusion that we are in the midst of a real external world.

Everybody ought to dismiss his cook, lay in no more supplies for the larder, purchase no more fuel, cease to patronize the tailor, and, in every way, even at the expense of temporary shame, or even of the apparent annihilation of the human race, conquer this all-pervading delusion which has called forth so much of human energy hitherto. And along with this, if we were consistent, we should be compelled to desist from visiting the sick, from feeding the hungry, clothing the naked, and even from punishing those who appeared to have committed crime against physical person or property. All this would certainly simplify life enormously. But alas! where would be our pity, or our charity, or our sense of justice, or a thousand other virtues that are chiefly dependent upon the delusion that we live in a real world? The theory is too absurd, and life can be made tolerable and gracious only by the partial application of the theory, such as the Christian Scientists practice, or by entirely ignoring it in the interest of practical common sense.

But such idealism is not that which is here in mind. The idealism we are advocating admits the reality of the external world, and differs from realism chiefly in its conception of the nature of that reality. Realism says that the external world is constituted of a stuff which God may indeed have created, but which, now that it is created, has an independent existence. It has its attributes and laws of operation, and these go on because they are inherent in the thing we call matter. It is not here proposed to point out the metaphysical difficulties of such a theory, but merely to state the position of idealism in contrast. In general terms it will suffice to say that idealism denies the kind of reality that realism finds in the outer world, and affirms the reality to consist of divine activities. Instead of matter, with its alleged laws of action, producing the phenomenal world, the idealist sees God at work producing the stimuli which, reacting on us in accordance with the laws of our mind, cause or enable us to construct the phenomenal world for ourselves.

It might be supposed that this is a mere metaphysical quibble, barren of ethical consequences. What possible difference can it make in my conduct whether the reality of the external world is that of matter or that of a direct divine activity? But this is not the question at issue. That question, as it relates to ethics, is not so much one of fact, which belongs rather in the realm

metaphysical inquiry, but one of our conception of the facts. And surely to the believer in the existence of a God with a relation to this world it makes a vast difference ethically what that relation is, at least so far as the human race is a part of this world. As long as religion and morals are so intimately united as they are in the Christian system we shall need a true doctrine of God's immanence in the world. That doctrine is, in the large, taught in the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments. There God is proclaimed and conceived as omnipresent and as directly operative in all the phenomena of the natural world. He was not put far from men by second causes. He was available for help in time of temporal need and in the hour of temptation. Realism destroys this, building up a barrier of matter between God and ourselves. Realism may affirm the immanence of God, but it is conceived of as immanence in a world which has laws of being and operation external to God. The immanence of God in realism is such as might be predicated of the all-pervading ether. Idealism does not think of a world external to God in which he is immanent, but it thinks of God as at work or as active, and of ourselves as living in the midst of these activities. It is not matter that presses upon us in nature, but God himself. He is not very far from every one of us. As a matter of convenience we may speak of certain events as processes of nature, as though nature and God were distinct and separate; but the idealist who is really convinced of the truth of his theory knows that the so-called event in nature is God's work. The idealist does not feel himself related to nature on the one side and to God on the other. He has to do wholly with God.

The advantages which accrue to the moral life from such a theory are apparent. And yet the theory is effective only to those who are fully imbued with it. Hence it is that those who are in a good degree the conservators of public morals should not only hold a true metaphysics, but should inculcate it in the simplest possible way in the minds of young and old. Under the best conditions human perversity will still make itself more or less manifest. Nevertheless, under worse conditions it will exhibit itself still more. It would be a great blessing to the world if the best conditions could be continuously brought to bear upon mankind. Therefore let us have enthusiasm for idealism in

THE ARENA.

FAITH HEALING AND THE EARLY CHRISTIANS.

QUESTION.

WHAT truth is there in the claim of the Christian Alliance that it was the constant belief of the ancient Church that in Christ there was full provision for bodily needs, that healing was by faith and not by medicine? What are the best books to consult on the subject?

ANSWER.

1. There is no intimation in the New Testament that miraculous healings were to cease with the death of the apostles. Mark xvi. 17, 18, rather assumes that they were to be a permanent part of the credentials of the Gospel. (This is just as true on supposition of nongenuineness of last part of Mark. It at least echoes the beliefs of the Church.)

2. The early Christian writers go on the same assumption. Justin Martyr (2 *Ap.* 6) says that everywhere Christians are exorcising demons in the name of Christ, and he speaks of these things as cures, and there is no doubt he believes the same with regard to disease. Irenæus (ii, 32, 4) says of Christians of his time (A. D. 175): "Some do certainly and truly drive out demons, so that those who have been cleansed from evil spirits frequently believe and join themselves to the Church. Others still heal the sick by laying their hands upon them, and they are made whole. Yea, moreover, as I have said, the dead have been raised up, and remained among us for many years." Irenæus was a man of wide information, and he speaks of a fact generally true in the Church of his age.

3. Throughout the ancient and mediæval periods of the Church the healing of the sick by supposed supernatural means was a common thing, and rests upon a plethora of evidence. Whether in many cases the healings were not really natural—for example, by power of mind by heightening of expectation, etc.—may be fairly taken for granted, but that there remains a residuum of real healing beyond natural means is incontestable; that is, on the law of evidence. On Hume's theory one can deny the whole thing.

4. But the real question remains: Did the ancient Church believe that the normal method of cure was by miracle (divine healing, as Alliance calls it), by supernatural infusion, that the atonement had provided for this just as for cleansing of sin? One would need an almost miraculous acquaintance with the vast body of Christian literature to answer that question. But I can say from a general knowledge that that was not the common conception of the ancient Christians. When healings were granted they were a special gift

of God, brought about through the power of faith or the working of some Christian of eminent holiness. Ordinarily diseases were treated by such remedies as were believed to be effective. Supernatural healings were exceptional, and were sometimes the result of missionary labors of men of heroic faith, like Gregory, Thaumaturgus, and Columbanus. I think there is no evidence that the Christians believed that the atonement provided regularly for the healing of disease by faith, as it incontestably provided for healing of sin by faith. I would give a good deal for passages in ancient or mediæval literature which say that.

On the other hand, Irenæus (ii, 32, 2) speaks with disapproval of certain heretics of this day who neglected the arts and occupations of life, which are (as he says) "laborious, glorious, and skillful, and which also are approved as being good." Among these he mentions "the whole study of medicine, and the knowledge of plants, so as to become acquainted with those which are for the health of man." This is a proof that the Christians believed thoroughly in the use of the ordinary means in case of sickness. But that use did not prevent recourse to divine power when necessary. Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.*, vii, 7, about 200 A. D.) places side by side healing of the body by a physician and healing of the soul by the Lord as equally legitimate. "And as the physician ministers health to those who cooperate with him in order to health, so also God ministers eternal salvation to those who cooperate for the attainment of knowledge and good conduct." In *Pæd.*, ii, 2, he recognized wine as useful for a medicine when taken seasonably and moderately. Wine is an "aid as a strengthening tonic suitable to a sickly body enfeebled with watery humors," "dissolves the foul excrementitious matters by its warmth, and mixes the acrid and base humor with agreeable scents." He recommends wine for dispelling numbness in winter and as a "medicine for intestines." Origen (*Contra Celsum*, vii, 59) takes for granted the calling of the physician as perfectly legitimate. "It is evident," he says, "that the welfare of mankind and the common good are promoted more by that physician who attends to the health of many than by one who confines his attention to a few." He repudiates Celsus's idea that demons have charge over various parts of the human body, and that these demons must be propitiated in order that a man may be healed of disease in these parts (viii, 58). Origen, on the contrary, lays down the great principle that in sickness man must have recourse to science, unless he takes the better way of entreating God. "But in seeking recovery from disease a man must either follow the more ordinary and scientific method, and have recourse to medical art; or, if he would go beyond the common methods adopted by men, he must rise to the higher and better way of seeking the blessing of him who is God over all, through piety and prayers" (viii, 60). And he boldly says that even if Celsus's words were true, and the demons were dispensers of health and disease, it were far better to suffer sickness and misfortune than to have

health and prosperity by calling upon them (viii, 62)—an assertion exactly similar to Chrysostom's (*in Psalm* ix, 15). Chrysostom himself seems to look upon the sign of the cross as the ordinary remedy for disease, but apparently not disowning physicians and medicines. In his eighth homily on Paul's Epistle to the Colossians he sternly rebukes recourse to amulets and charms on the part of Christians to cure diseases, saying that they might far better let their sick die, but he allows the sign of the cross and medicines. "Art thou one of the faithful? Sign the cross, saying, This I have for my only weapon, this for my remedy, and other I know none. Tell me, if a physician should come to me, and, neglecting the remedies belonging to his art, should use incantation, should we call that man a physician? By no means; for we see not the medicines of the healing art. So neither in this case do we see those of Christianity. Where will these satanical doings end? How will not the Greeks laugh? How will they not gibe when we say to them, Great is the virtue of the cross? How will they be won when they see us having recourse to those things [amulets and charms] which they themselves laugh to scorn? Was it for this that God gave physicians and medicines? What then? Suppose they do not cure him, but the child depart?" That is not a loss, for the child goes to heaven. Augustine agrees with his great contemporary Chrysostom in utterly repudiating all heathen remedial charms, but seems not to give any place for medicine. He says (*Tract. on John* vii, 67) that the sick must go to God for relief, and in another place (*Serm.* 215) refers them only to the body and blood of Christ and to the holy anointing, quoting James v, 4.

I have no doubt that Fox, Wesley, and other men referred to by Simpson believed in the continuance of supernatural and miraculous power in the Church which might sometimes be effective in the curing of disease. Wesley gloried in such belief. He repudiated the idea that the age of miracles was past. (See Tyerman, i, 531; ii, 87.) The whole system of Friends was founded in the idea that the Spirit had direct dealings with men. But that is a far different thing from the Christian Alliance principle that in faith and in the forces which it commands is the ordinary divine means of healing. Wesley was a student of health and disease, and wrote a book of medicine.

For modern books consult Schaff, *Church History*, ii, 117, 118; Neander, *Church History*, s. v. "Miracles," index, vols. i and ii; J. H. Newman, *Biblical and Ecclesiastical Miracles;* Mozley, *Miracles*, lect. viii; Middleton, *Free Inquiry* (1748); the late Rev. Dr. A. J. Gordon, *The Ministry of Healing;* M. R. Vincent "Modern Miracles," in *Presbyterian Review*, July, 1883, art. i; R. L. Stanton, "Healing through Faith," *Presbyterian Review*, January, 1884, art. iii; Bingham, *Antiquities*, vi, 65-67, ed. 1840; art. "Wonders," by Rev. Charles Granville Clarke, M.A., in Smith and Cheetham, *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities;* and Buckley, *Faith Healing, Christian Science, and Kindred Phenomena* (Century Co.).

I intended to say that in dealing with the Christian Alliance one needs to remember that it stands for truth as well as error, and that it is the truth in it which gives it its power. Even its principle of divine healing expresses in a grossly exaggerated form a truth of exceeding preciousness, namely, that God is as near his children today in healing as he was in Christ's time—near by the restorative forces in nature without and in the human system within, near by the increased knowledge of those forces through the advancement of science, and occasionally—if he so wills—near by the touch of his healing hand in answer to the prayer of faith, a blessing that may come through the means or without them. To deny this is to virtually banish the heavenly Father from his children. Besides, many testimonies bear witness to this, and Wesley's followers ought not to be ashamed to have his respect for facts.

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THE CAUSE AND CURE OF POVERTY.

This is a scientific age. Men want to know the cause of things. Nothing is so sacred for the scientist; he wants to get the facts, then draw legitimate conclusions. Not alone in the realm of nature does he roam, but some of the best men and women of our day, possessed with this spirit, have gone into the "city wilderness" and dwelt, so they may if possible discover the cause of our present social conditions. It was, then, with great interest I saw the heading in our *Methodist Review*, "The Cause and Cure of Poverty," by E. B. Randle, D.D. I thought that at last the discovery had been made and a remedy found, but, alas! my disappointment when I read the words, "There is no hope that poverty will ever cease to be in this world. . . . The poor will be here always."

Then the disease is incurable; the millennium will never come, the Lord's Prayer never be answered, for that can never be as long as poverty is on one hand and riches on the other. In discussing the causes of poverty he says: "Rum is the greatest of all causes of poverty. . . . If men would quit patronizing the saloon . . . poverty would rapidly disappear." So there is some hope, after all, but, alas! the experts who have lived in the "city wilderness" declare that rum is *not* the great cause of poverty; that poverty produces more drunkenness than drunkenness poverty; that not more than twenty per cent can be traced to drink; that it is ignorance and injustice, as seen in low wages and unsanitary tenements, that are the prime cause of poverty.

He next proceeds to discuss remedies and make an attack upon the socialists. He says: "They insist that the weak worker shall share equally with the stronger. . . . They propose that the surplus substance of the rich man shall be divided among the poor." Now, who ever taught such doctrine? Surely no one who could in any way represent the socialists of this or any other country; not Karl

Marx, nor Lassalle, nor anyone representing socialism. Socialism does not believe in a dividing of property; it teaches the doctrine of equal *opportunity*, not a division of the surplus. To illustrate: The post office gives every man a chance to send a letter if he will pay the postage, but it does not compel you or me to write letters for the "shiftless, drinking, worthless man who had the same opportunity," but if the "worthless man" does write the letter the government will carry it as promptly as if he were a millionaire. Our public school is socialistic, but while it furnishes every child the opportunity, and no distinction must be made between the children of the rich and the poor, yet all do not get the same benefits. How the doctor could have fallen into such a blunder is beyond my comprehension. Any good work on socialism would have saved him the mistake. So the whole argument falls to the ground because he has made a man of straw. And now the doctor proceeds to argue in favor of "individualism." It is "the surest guardian the world has ever had of liberty and great endeavor," he says. But what is individualism but anarchy—living for oneself? Has it not been this individualism that has brought the present economic crisis upon us? Mr. Croker, of New York, is a good example of individualism when he says he was working for himself all the time, day and night, in running the city of New York. Compare that spirit with Mr. Low. "I am pledged to consider the interest of the people and city alone." Will Dr. Randle claim that the governments of Europe based upon individualism, the rights of its kings, are better than our own government, where the ruler is the servant of the people? Socialism is not opposed to the government; it simply asks that the same democratic principles that run our government shall be applied to the business of the land by the government.

Surely he will not claim that the schools when run by individuals were better than our public schools, or the post office when it cost a dollar to send a letter better than the socialistic system we now have. Is it not true that since we have socialized our streets, roads, army and navy, police force, etc., that it has been infinitely better than when they were owned by an individual? Then is it not strange that any follower of Christ should be found advocating individualism in the face of the Sermon on the Mount and the thirteenth of First Corinthians, and when we remember that Christ taught that to become the servant of all was to reach the highest place in his kingdom? We know the keynote if his teaching was service, as it is the corner stone of socialism. No wonder the socialists applaud his name, while they have no time for the defenders of individualism or anarchy. It is this failure, I think, as ministers of the Gospel, to thus understand the teachings of Jesus that has made the breach between the workingman and the Church. Christianity if nothing else is the doctrine of self-denial, living for others and therefore is in full accord with the principles of socialism, and will yet triumph and the day come when there will be no rich

poor, but be all one in Christ Jesus. Finally the doctor comes upon our platform when he says that "Able-bodied men and women should not be helped except through some public industry"—what is that but socialism?—and then closes by saying, "When the golden rule is practiced between man and man social evils will cease." To which we all say Amen.

DAVID MORGAN.

St. Paul, Minn.

WAS TENNYSON GUILTY OF SIBILATION?

I HAVE been interested in the very readable article from the pen of Frederic L. Knowles, M.A., apropos of Professor Triggs's criticism of Christian hymnology, in the November issue of the *Review*. I have just one criticism to offer concerning a remark which Mr. Knowles makes about Tennyson's verse. In speaking of some inexact and slovenly rhymes to be found in our hymns, I find the following: "Tennyson would no more have had *barley* precede *early* [referring to The Lady of Shalott], or (in 'A Farewell') have made *forever* take precedence of *river*, than he would have brought two s's together." It is the last statement to which I take exception. The idea has gone abroad that Tennyson was never guilty of sibilation. This is perhaps owing to the fact that we have taken his own word as final, without judging for ourselves after a careful reading of his lines. In his "Memoir" by his son, vol. ii, page 14, we have an account of some remarks by Tennyson upon the difficulties involved in writing blank verse, in which he says, "I never put two 's's' in any verse of mine." This is all right if we go no farther than the poet's own assertion; but how does it sound after we read two lines in "Break, break, break," a poem to which Mr. Knowles refers?

> That he shouts with his *s*ister at play;
> And the sound of a voice that is *s*till!

Take an example from "Hands All Round," which occurs in the very first line of the poem:

> First drink a health, this *s*olemn night.

In "The Princess" I find the following:

> He shall not blind his *s*oul with clay;
> Lillia, wild with sport,
> If child, half woman as *s*he was.

In "The Gardener's Daughter" is this line:

> The shadow of the flowers *s*tole all the golden gloss.

I could cite numerous passages from Tennyson's unpublished stanzas, as found in the "Memoir," but deem it fair to quote only from his work that has been given to the world. What I have pro-

duced above is quite sufficient to establish the assertion that he did bring two s's together, and that when he said he never had allowed himself to do such a thing his memory must have been sadly at fault.

N. B. RIPLEY.

Otego, N. Y.

CHRIST OR BROWNING—WHICH?

MANY sane people yet think that the Browning excitement is a fad. I confess that I was one of them till I read him seriously. Now his poems are to me an exhaustless treasure-house. The article "Browning's Philosophy of Religion and Theory of Life," in the last issue of the *Methodist Review*, brings to mind my first reading of Browning's "Saul," his argument for Saul's final restoration, based on David's devotion to him, and his beautiful reference to the divine-human Saviour. Further reading makes me class Browning with restorationists—a large-minded and big-hearted set. How gladly would I cast in my lot with them if I dared! Their view would be immensely comforting, even though it might require a million years to bring some human souls to see that God is love, and to long to be like him. But Browning's Christ, the divine-human Saviour, stands right across my path. It seems to me that I would die on the cross if my death could make Jesus support Browning's position in this matter. But the words of Jesus are explicit to the contrary. They are too well known to need quoting here. Such teachings from him who said, "He that hath seen me hath seen the Father," from lips that spoke out the heart of infinite love, prevent me from being a restorationist.

Brooklyn, N. Y. JOHN RIPPERE.

CONCERNING IMMORTALITY.

THE Pharisees believed that the soul is immortal; the Sadducees denied the existence of either angel or spirit. Jesus refuted the doctrines of the Sadducees, but never condemned the eschatology of the Pharisees. All that he did say concerning the hereafter corresponded with their belief. If they had been in error would he not have revealed to them the truth? Is it not a necessary inference that their doctrine was fundamentally correct?

Can a spirit possessed of a moral nature be annihilated. If so, why is Satan permitted to continue to be? Why was he not annihilated before he tempted man? If man is not immortal, why the atonement? Would it not have been better that sinning man should cease to exist than that the Son of God should suffer ignominy and death in order to offer him eternal life? Is the act of creating so difficult that redemption through suffering is preferable to creating in purity?

S. E. QUIMBY.

Littleton, N. H.

THE ITINERANTS' CLUB.

CATECHISM OF MINISTERIAL COURTESY.—III.

WHAT courtesies are due from the pastor to the congregation? Ministerial courtesy involves more than courtesy to those in the pastor's own profession, such as have been considered in the two previous papers. It involves courtesy to the congregation to whom he ministers, and also to all the people with whom he comes in contact. A minister is called to a public service, and it is impossible for him to divest himself of his character as a Gospel minister. He cannot have two sides to his life—one in which he appears as a preacher and the other as a private individual. It is true that there are certain departments of his duty in which his acts are purely personal, but he cannot throw off the fact that he is a part of a Christian community, and has a constant ministerial relation which must not be overlooked by him and will not be overlooked by the people. It is well, however, to consider his relations to his own people.

The first relation which he occupies is that of one whose business it is to minister to the sick. It is, of course, true that his service to the sick is more than courtesy—it is a duty. It is not for him to say whether he will visit the sick—it is a part of his ordination vows. It is one of the highest forms of ministerial duty. The visitation of the sick and the poor is given as a proof of the Messiahship of Jesus: "The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he hath anointed me to preach the Gospel to the poor; he hath sent me to heal the broken-hearted, to preach deliverance to the captives, and recovering of sight to the blind, to set at liberty them that are bruised, to preach the acceptable year of the Lord" (Luke iv, 18, 19). Then, again, it is said in James: "Pure religion and undefiled before God and the Father is this, To visit the fatherless and widows in their affliction, and to keep himself unspotted from the world" (James i, 27). This is a special duty, then, of a preacher of the Gospel, and one in which it is safe to say that the Gospel minister has rarely been charged with neglect. How shall he carry out this important duty without violating the courtesies which belong to recognized social life, and for the spiritual benefit of those to whom he ministers?

One cannot separate himself from his social environments, and rudeness is always out of place, either in relation to the well or to the sick; consequently his first duty is to study the conditions of things, and especially the family where the sickness occurs. He will not obtrude unnecessarily, nor thrust himself upon those who do not desire his services, but will conduct himself in accordance with the proprieties which govern the society in which he moves.

It is assumed that the minister does not usurp the place of the physician. It sometimes occurs that the preacher has some medical training, or regards himself as having medical skill, and there is a strong temptation to become physician as well as preacher. He should guard this point, for in so doing he may alienate the physician in charge of the case and do damage to the patient. It is not wise, therefore, for him to suggest improvements in mode of treatment. The physician is in charge of the physical condition of the patient, and is the only authority, and for the minister to interfere is an act of great unwisdom, and only when the most imperative sense of duty may arise—which rarely does arise—can he undertake medical service for a sick person. There are many other forms of service which he may render, but this is one to be avoided.

The amount of visiting which the pastor is at liberty to give must be determined in each case by the sick person, or by the physician, or by the immediate relatives; hence, courtesy requires that he shall not intrude his visits where those who have the right to determine regard it as hurtful to the patient. In this respect it is to be noted that the physician would object to the visit of some ministers when he would cheerfully accept the services of others. He realizes that much depends upon the tone, temper, and conduct of the minister in the sick room, and one without delicate appreciation of the circumstances of the case is not so likely to be wanted as one who recognizes the limitations of his duty. A minister will not rush in upon a patient, even when invited to do so, without notice. The sudden excitement to a sick person may cause injury, and therefore the entrance to the sick room should be with the utmost delicacy and reserve. Quietness is invaluable in courtesy to the sick. A boisterous person is rarely welcome, and as rarely useful. The method of a minister in visiting the sick will not be depressing, on the one hand, nor buoyant, on the other. He will enter the sick room with a quiet cheerfulness, and thus carry with him health as well as wisdom.

He will introduce the subject of religion in a suitable manner. Herein will be displayed often his keen sense of the fitness of things. If he speaks to a Christian his way is generally clear; but if his visit is to one who is not a Christian he will approach the subject in a friendly, natural way, calculated to insure confidence, rather than in an abrupt and intrusive way. With the Scriptures in his hand he may often quietly read a few passages of Scripture which will be soothing and cheering to the patient, and open the way for remarks which could not otherwise have been introduced. There is something about the word of God which appeals to people in sickness, even though they have not hitherto given attention to its teachings. It may not always be wise to talk religion. The person may not be prepared to receive it at that time, and the preacher must be governed by circumstances.

It is well that, whenever practicable, prayer should be offered in

the sick room; and yet this should be done with thoughtfulness and with a due recognition of the fitness of things. The writer has visited a sick room under conditions where prayer would have been a parade rather than a prayer. It is sometimes an embarrassment to the minister that all the friends gather in the room when he makes a visit. It would be far better if he could have not more than one or two present, so that if conversation takes place it may be more free than it would be in the presence of a multitude. Most people, and certainly many thoughtful people, are very reticent on their religious thinking and feeling. All this must be taken into account. Some who have very profound feeling are unwilling to talk to anybody, and the minister can only talk freely when he has won their confidence. The writer remembers an incident in his own experience which may illustrate the point under consideration. There was a lady, a member of his church, who was very faithful to the Sabbath services and the prayer meetings, but whose husband was understood to be, and was, opposed to ministers and churches of all kinds. It was in the days of the civil war, and he, thinking that the preachers had brought on the strife, became so embittered that he did not even want to see or speak to them. It had been said that at one time a minister who visited him and proposed to pray was ordered from the house. The wife, however, was very anxious that her pastor should visit him. At length he became sick, and she renewed the request. The pastor felt it his duty to go, and accordingly went. The man received him courteously. The preacher told him that he had called to see how he was feeling, and would only stay a few moments. After a few words of inquiry as to his health he left. A few days later he called again. The man was really more agreeable than before, but still not disposed to be friendly. After a conversation of some time he told the minister what he thought of his profession in pretty plain terms. The minister responded quietly, did not return the attack, but vindicated his brethren and himself as best he could, suggesting to the man that it was easy for misunderstandings to arise; and having made inquiry further about his health, he departed. Soon after he called again, and having made such preliminary observations as seemed necessary, and having introduced the general subject of religion, he suggested that he would pray. The man offered no objections, and so he knelt down in a room where perhaps a minister had never prayed before, at least in that family, and commended the man to God. There is no evidence that he was converted, but he certainly was a changed man in his bearing toward the Church and ministers. From that time he became the pastor's firm friend, and never hesitated when it was in his power to do him a service, and to this day the minister has pleasant memories of his visit to an unwilling patient.

It goes without saying that the minister would be discourteous in the extreme, as well as unwise, to interfere in the worldly affairs of

the sick, except so far as to render them service. The employment of the time occupied for visiting the sick person by a minister in attempting to control the disposition of the property of the individual or to intrude upon family affairs is exceedingly out of place, and has sometimes brought discredit upon the preachers of the Gospel. Cases, however, when this is done are so extremely rare that it hardly needs to be mentioned.

I may not conclude these remarks on courtesy to the sick better than by a quotation from Rev. Dr. Samuel Miller, professor in the Theological Seminary at Princeton, many years ago, who, in his book on *Clerical Manners*, makes the remarks with which this paper closes: "Let your manner of address by the bedside of the sick be studiously mild and tender. Let nothing be said calculated to jar or agitate, except what fidelity to the soul renders necessary. Be plain, simple, and studiously faithful in your exhibitions of the truth. . . . Let your conversations and visits be short—the effort of even a few minutes in speaking or in listening to a speaker is often very oppressive to the sick. Do not ordinarily allow yourself to be seated by the bedside of one who is really ill longer than a quarter of an hour at any one time, unless the case be very peculiar or you have very conclusive evidence that your presence is not burdensome. Let your prayers in the apartment of the sick be tender, sympathetic, appropriate, from beginning to end; short, and as much calculated as possible to fix, calm, and enlighten the mind of the sufferer and to direct his meditations. Many topics for social prayer on other occasions ought to be left out here; and every tone should be adapted to the stillness and sympathy of the sick chamber. In many cases it is desirable to converse with the sick alone. In this situation they will sometimes be very free and confidential with you, and you will often feel at liberty to converse very freely and unreservedly with them. But everything of this kind ought to be avoided in those cases in which you might be exposed to the charge of tampering with the mind of the patient in reference to the disposition of his property, or with regard to any other worldly or delicate concern."

THE DYNAMICS OF CHRISTIAN PROGRESS.

Christian progress means the advancement of the Christian life in the world. It has to do with civilization and also with the individual character. The latter is fundamental to the former. Civilization is more than buildings and railroads and scientific advances, protection from disease and providing the comforts of life. The real question is to determine the relation of these things to the individual man. There can be no complete civilization without personal character. Christian progress means the development of Christian character in individuals and through individuals in the nation, and in this way the promotion of the higher forms of life. It would

be easy to agree, in the main, on what is called "Christian progress" in its results; but how to produce it is a question of greater difficulty. The one element generally overlooked among the students of religion is the element of dynamics, and the real question is to ascertain the power that makes for righteousness. The thought of to-day tends to promote Christian progress without a recognition of Christian power, or "the dynamics of Christianity."

Speaking in general terms, the dynamic power of Christianity lies in three things: First, the immanence of a personal God; that God "is, and that he is a rewarder of them that diligently seek him" (Heb. xi, 6); that he is in the world, watching over its interests, and knowing the affairs of men. This excludes the conception of God as a mere ethical idea, and also the pantheistic conception of God, and makes him a present, personal, omnipresent force in the world.

The next dynamic element in Christianity is Christ himself. We are told that "the love of Christ constraineth us" (2 Cor. v, 14); "Wherefore he is able also to save them to the uttermost that come unto God by him" (Heb. vii, 25). "All authority is given unto me in heaven and in earth" (Matt. xxviii, 18); and "I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw all men unto me" (John xii, 32). This conception of Christ as an authority, as an attractive power, as a force in the hearts and lives of men, constitutes the essence of the Christian life, and, consequently, the Christian progress.

The third dynamic element in Christianity is the Holy Spirit. This influence, entering into man's spirit, and yet apart from it, is the Third Person of the adorable Trinity; and is a dynamic force that must be reckoned with in the estimate of Christian progress. Passages of Scripture on this point are numerous. "Ye shall receive power, after that the Holy Ghost is come upon you" (Acts i, 8). This was the great pentecostal power which gave that mighty impulse to the infant Church which has been felt through the centuries. This is the standing miracle of Christianity, repeating itself from age to age. "That ye may abound in hope, through the power of the Holy Ghost" (Rom. xv, 13). Here the Holy Spirit is the power which gives hope to God's people. "Through mighty signs and wonders, by the power of the Spirit of God" (Rom. xv, 19). This is the power which the Church acknowledges as essential to its existence and vitality, but too often overlooked.

The attempt is being made to do Christian work without the recognition of Christian power. There is a sense in which Christian power resides in the spirit of man; in the proclamation of the Gospel; in the ordinary instrumentalities by which the Church is carried on; in the many organizations which are so beneficent in their influence; but fundamental to all these are these dynamic forces which have been in the Church from the beginning, and which constitute its permanent power. It is these dynamics of Christian progress which have made Christianity more effective than all other means in promoting the welfare of men.

ARCHÆOLOGY AND BIBLICAL RESEARCH.

ANTIQUITY OF WRITING.

THE archæological discoveries of the past year or two have contributed materially to the science of epigraphy, and have added considerable to our knowledge regarding the antiquity of writing. Thus the pick and the spade have rendered most valuable service to the student of ancient history and literature. Indeed, the excavations of the recent past have revealed more clearly than ever not only the great antiquity, but the early prevalence, of writing. It seems no longer any more appropriate to ask when and by whom writing was invented than to ask by whom and where the baking of bread or the churning of cream into butter was invented. Indeed, pictographic writing of some kind, if not as ancient as the human race itself, is yet of exceedingly great antiquity. Marks, pictures, hieroglyphs first, then ideographs and phonograms, and finally a perfected alphabet. Thanks to the archæologists, we now know that nations widely apart had some way of recording their thoughts by visible signs, of one kind or another, from remotest times. The old classification of writing employed even in recent cyclopedias, as in the last edition of Brockhaus, is imperfect. For in this we have five systems, apparently without any relation one to the other, enumerated, as follows: (1) the hieroglyphic, (2) the cuneiform, (3) the Chinese, (4) the South American, (5) the Central American script, or pictographic writing. The discoveries of the past two years in Crete have added one more well-defined system to those already known. The Cretan inscriptions, of which several hundreds have been unearthed, are of two kinds, one pictographic, the other linear and regular. The Cretan script, like the Hittite, remains so far undeciphered. Thus not a hint of the contents of these inscribed tablets has been given to the world. The regularity with which the work is executed on these tablets, and the objects found in immediate connection with them, warrant the conclusion that they belong to a civilization of an advanced type, much more so than we had any right to conclude from the most extravagant descriptions of Crete in the classic writers. Thus, the latest Cretan discoveries, besides revealing a Cretan script, hoary with age, have also made it clear that Crete was in possession of a high civilization at a very early date; and that this little island, when in its glory, stood much in the same relation to the nations bordering on the Mediterranean that Great Britain of our day does to the nations of Europe.

Writing, if we are to believe Professor Hilprecht—no mean authority on all questions pertaining to Assyriology—had reached a stage of great perfection in the fifth millennium before our era, such a stage as to justify the conclusion that so perfect a system

must have been preceded by a long period of antecedent development. The contents of these most ancient inscriptions bear testimony likewise to the business and literary culture of the age, to which they owe their origin. Yes, the complex nature of the cuneiform script, as seen in the earliest tablets or monuments, presupposes culture and intelligence.

This is not the place to discuss the cuneiform inscription as such; it suffices to say that its origin is lost in gray antiquity, and that this script continued throughout the centuries down to the time of Cyrus the Great, and indeed, according to some, to a much later time. The excavations at Nippur, under the auspices of the University of Pennsylvania, have brought to light some very ancient tablets, among these thousands of inscriptions which at one time were a part of a large library, containing, according to some, no fewer than one hundred thousand tablets or clay-books. This ancient library was in ruins, and its valuable treasures were buried under the *débris* ages before Abraham was born. We have no reason to think that Nippur was the only place in the Euphrates valley which had its vast library at so early a date. The beautiful statues of Gudea, literally covered with exquisite script, and executed not far from 3000 B. C., exhibit such artistic skill as to make them a marvel even to this day. Not only are the statues themselves very perfect, but the character of the inscriptions is such as has never been excelled at any time in the history of cuneiform writing. Now, if sculpture and engraving on stone had reached so great a perfection at so early an age, what must have been the case with which stylus and brush could have been used? For no doubt the pencil and slate must have preceded the graver or style.

If we turn to Egypt we are supplied with a more or less regular succession of inscribed monuments, going back from the first centuries of our era to what were formerly termed prehistoric times. The past two years have brought to light several new monuments of great interest. The recent excavations in the tombs of the first and second dynasties at Abydos, by Flinders Petrie, were a surprise even to himself. Sayce well remarks that we know, since these discoveries have been made, almost as much about Menes and his immediate successors as we do about the rulers of the fourth dynasty. But what we want to point out here is the fact that writing was practiced in the time of Menes, that is, about 4000 B. C. Dr. Reisner discovered a golden seal, or rather a cylinder upon which was inscribed the name *Aha*, that is, Menes. Several other pieces of the same period bear the name Menes. Parenthetically, it might be observed that several pieces of jewelry and ornaments of exquisite workmanship were found in the same tombs. Those belonging to the consort of King Zer, who succeeded Menes on the throne, are said to be the oldest specimens of fine jewelry yet discovered. Now, if such skilled workmanship in gold and precious stones was possible 4000 years before the birth of Christ, we have every reason to

believe that writing had reached a wonderful degree of perfection at the same period, yea, even much earlier.

But, as far as writing is concerned, the discovery at Tel-el-Amarna in 1887 is of prime importance. Among the ruins of this ancient capital an Egyptian peasant woman accidentally came upon more than three hundred clay tablets, which if printed in one book would make a volume about half as large as the Pentateuch. The finding of these was of importance chiefly since it showed clearly that the art of writing was very general in the century, or centuries, preceding the exodus. These tablets are official documents, or state correspondence, including not only dispatches from the petty rulers and governors of Syria, Phœnicia, and Palestine, but also letters from the friendly rulers of Babylonia, Assyria, Armenia, and the allied kings of western Asia. Indeed, six or seven are from the city of Jerusalem. Attention is called to these to show that correspondence was carried on between Egypt and many nations, chiefly Semitic, scattered over a vast territory, from the Nile to the Euphrates, and that in a Semitic script long before Moses appeared on the stage of action. Writing was in vogue not only in the great capitals of the world, but also in the less noted towns of the Babylonian and Egyptian empires.

In view of the prevalence of writing in these early times, it is not wonderful that the oldest Hebrew scriptures speak of writing as existing and common. Writing was first distinctly mentioned in Exod. xvii, 14; nevertheless "the connection clearly implies that it was not then employed for the first time, but was so familiar as to be used for historic records." We have several other references in the Pentateuch to writing (Exod. xxiv, 4; xxxiv, 27; Lev. xix, 28; Num. v, 23, and often). These show clearly that writing was no new thing for Moses who had been brought up in all the wisdom of the Egyptians. The transaction recorded in Gen. xxiii, 17, 18, is drawn up in exact legal phraseology, and there is no reason for doubting that the children of Heth gave Abraham a transfer deed for the parcel of ground bought of them for a burying place, in some kind of a script. Deeds, leases, and contracts were drawn up in Babylonia and Egypt long before the days of Abraham.

It is impossible to say what form of writing was in vogue by the Hebrews in the time of Moses and the centuries succeeding. The Hebrew alphabet, like most modern ones, has passed through a process of development. This is evident from the few scanty monuments which we possess. Two well-defined systems of writing preceded the one represented by the square characters now used in our Hebrew Bibles. The old Hebrew, or Canaanitish writing, is represented on the so-called Mesha inscription. This remarkable monument was discovered by Rev. F. A. Klein, a German missionary, in 1863 at Dhiban in the land of Moab, some twelve miles east of the Dead Sea. It was erected to commemorate the victories of Mesha, king of Moab, who waged war against Israel in the reigns of Omri and Ahab (2 Kings iii, 4, 5). This stele according to Nöldeke, is the old-

est monument of syllabic writing. The language, if not pure Hebrew, is almost identical with the early books of the Old Testament.

Another monument, closely resembling the Moabite Stone, is the Siloam Inscription, accidentally discovered in 1880 by a boy who fell into the pool of Siloam. This is thought to be as old as the reign of Hezekiah, say 730 B. C. We read in 2 Kings xx, 20, that "he made a pool, and a conduit, and brought water into the city." Besides these two principal monuments of Hebrew writing we possess engraved gems, seals, and a small collection of coins from the time of the Maccabees to those of Vespasian and Hadrian. Here also should be mentioned several inscribed Phœnician monuments. The language and lettering on these are almost identical with what we find on the Hebrew monuments of the same period. The earliest Greek and Latin inscriptions bear such a close resemblance to the Phœnician or Hebrew as to leave no doubt as to their origin.

Whence the Phœnician alphabet? Most people will say, with De Rouge, that it must be traced to the hieratic script of Egypt; though others maintain that both the Phœnicians and Hebrews are indebted to the northern Semites for their first lessons in writing. The names of the letters of the alphabet point to a Semitic rather than to an Egyptian origin. The question is beset with difficulties. It is also impossible to say when the Phœnician alphabet was introduced. In this also the process must have been gradual. Canon Isaac Taylor places the possible limit between 2300 and 1700 B. C. Among the oldest hieratic Egyptian writings so far discovered is the Papyrus Prisse, so named because brought from Thebes to Paris by a Frenchman named Prisse d'Avennes. It is supposed that it was written about 2500 B. C. From a note at the end of this remarkable document we learn that it is a copy of another, much older, of the time of Phtah-Hotep, of the fifth dynasty.

The origin of writing is lost in the remotest past, but the prevalence of writing and the advanced stage of civilization can be traced to very early times. This state of civilization was not confined to the valleys of the Nile and the Euphrates; it was shared by many people, which, though widely separated, had regular commercial relations both by land and by sea long before Abraham left Ur of the Chaldees. Menes is no longer a myth, but an historical character. The same may be said of Minos of Crete. What then shall we say of the patriarchs of Israel? We have a right to claim that Moses really existed, and that it was possible for him to have written the books bearing his name. It is highly improbable that a man whom universal tradition has made an author and legislator of the first rank had not written anything. We emphasize this point because our German friends in the recent past had no hesitation in claiming that Moses could not have written the Pentateuch, because the art of writing was not known in his time, or if known at all was "restricted to formal instruments, and that upon stone." Wellhausen has lived long enough to regret having made such an unfounded statement.

FOREIGN OUTLOOK.

SOME LEADERS OF THOUGHT.

H. H. Wendt. In his *Teaching of Jesus*, published some years ago, he adopted the idea of Ch. H. Weisse that the fourth gospel may, like the synoptists, consist of a union of an earlier and a later tradition. Recently Wendt has published a work entitled *Das Johannesevangelium. Eine Untersuchung seiner Entstehung und seines Geschichtlichen Wertes* (The Gospel of John. An Examination of its Origin and Historical Value), Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1900, in which he vigorously champions the theory that the fourth gospel was written by one who had access, at a considerably earlier period, to a written source composed by an eyewitness of the ministry of Jesus, though he quoted it from memory. This source Wendt supposes to have been especially rich in reports of the utterances of Jesus, so that the somewhat lengthy speeches attributed to Jesus in John may be supposed to be the reproduction from memory, by the writer of the gospel, of the reports of one, probably the apostle John, who had heard him deliver them. For the support of such a theory there must, of course, be well-marked criteria by which to distinguish the apostolic from the later portions of the gospel. These Wendt thinks he has found, first in the interruptions and incoherences of the text, which could all be accounted for on the theory that a writer was trying to fit a document already in existence into a scheme of his own. One illustration of this is found in chapter xiii, 12-20. A second criterion is found in the use of the word σημεῖα and ἔργα, "signs" and "works," the latter being emphasized in the utterances of Jesus and the former in the portions original with the evangelist. This sheds light upon the origin of the Johannine epistles, which know nothing of the argument from the σημεῖα, and which therefore may be the product of the apostolic pen. Hitherto, also, it has been difficult for many to accept the widespread tradition of a residence of the apostle John in Asia Minor, chiefly because it was coupled with the tradition of the apostle's authorship of the fourth gospel, which critics could not accept, taking the gospel as we have it. In the light of this theory that difficulty vanishes and John may now be believed to have spent some time in Asia Minor. These are some of the results which, it is claimed, will follow the establishment of the hypothesis. To the mind of the writer of this the application of the documentary hypothesis to the fourth gospel is indicative of the feeling that after all the difficulties raised by critics against the Johannine authorship that gospel is nevertheless Johannine. It is another manifestation of the same feeling which has prompted so many modern students to trace the fourth gospel to a Johannine

school even though they could not persuade themselves that it was written by John himself.

F. R. Lipsius. In 1899 he published a work entitled *Die Vorfragen der Systematischen Theologie. Mit Besonderer Rücksicht auf die Philosophie Wilhelm Wundts Kritisch Untersucht* (A Critical Examination of the Questions Preliminary to Systematic Theology. With special Reference to the Philosophy of Wilhelm Wundt), Freiburg i. B., J. C. B. Mohr. In this work he undertakes to make the critical realism of Wundt the basis for a system of Christian theology. Perhaps most writers would have named the same work an introduction to systematic theology. In it he takes the position that the idealistic philosophy, in some form, is necessary to a consistent doctrine of Christian faith and morals. This view is gradually, perhaps even rapidly, gaining ground. But what is most interesting in the work is the theory of religion it furnishes. Lipsius claims that the content of the religious consciousness is trustworthy because it is the correlative of the consciousness of ethical freedom. This latter is not deducible from anything else, but is an ultimate fact given along with the fact of existence. It is not, however, a consciousness of ready-made standards and ideals, which develop rather gradually, and in accordance with Wundt's law of the heterogony of aims or purposes. On the contrary, it is a consciousness of inner spiritual unity and of the superiority of our personal being to that which is merely natural. Since this sense of ethical freedom is not deduced from anything else, it is to be regarded as of the nature of revelation. The correlative of the consciousness of freedom is the conviction of the existence of a power in which this freedom has its source—a power at least relatively superior to the many forces with which men have to contend. But the revelation referred to is not bestowed on men from without by supernatural influence. The causal nexus is such as to forbid a direct intervention of God. Nor is God to be thought of as an ordinary single cause. He is the universal will, and as such immanent in each individual will, and thus it is that the revelation affirmed is given. It is interesting to notice that Lipsius finds in Wundt's philosophy a basis for belief in personal immortality which Wundt denies. The most serious difficulty attaching to Lipsius's view is that he makes the chief proof of the trustworthiness of the content of the religious consciousness to depend on the consciousness of freedom, whereas this is itself merely accepted as a fact incapable of further proof. If anyone denied this freedom the foundations of religion would be destroyed for him.

RECENT THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE.

Die Bedeutung des Todes Jesu nach seinen Eigen en Aussagung auf Grund der Synoptischen Evangelien (The Signifi-

cance of the Death of Jesus according to His Own Statements as Recorded in the Synoptic Gospels). By Georg Hollmann. Tübingen and Leipzig, J. C. B. Mohr, 1901. It was the purpose of the author to make an unprejudiced study of the synoptic gospels with reference to the significance of the death of Jesus. Perhaps he has succeeded as nearly as possible in accomplishing an impossible task. For it is one thing to strive honestly to form an unbiased opinion, to free one's self from prepossessions, and it is quite another to succeed. The most prejudiced people are often least aware of their prejudices. Hollmann raises several questions in the first part of his work, all of which he answers in the affirmative. The first is whether it is possible to ascertain the thought of Jesus relative to the significance of his death. Here he does well to utter a vigorous protest against the skepticism so common in all questions relating to the life of Jesus—a skepticism usually cherished in proportion as it undermines the grounds for belief in doctrines unacceptable to the skeptics. The second question is whether Jesus foresaw his violent death as a necessity, and the third whether he attributed to his death any special significance. In the second part he considers the relation of Isa. lii, 13-liii, 12, to Jesus's conception of the significance of his own death, and concludes that he was uninfluenced by that passage, and that he did not regard his death as a propitiation or atonement for others. He also considers Christ's reference to his life as given as a ransom for many (Mark x, 45; Matt. xx, 28). Here he strives to bring the life and death of Jesus into line with each other, making both a service adapted to secure the salvation of men. His death was, therefore, no misfortune, but tended to bring salvation to those who, during his life, remained uninfluenced by him. His death led them to repentance, which is the condition of all true blessedness. Here, it seems to this writer, is one of the weakest features of the book. It practically makes both the life and death of Jesus a mere means of bringing men to repentance. This is a wholly inadequate view of the case. It might be replied that this is all that can be gotten out of the passages in the synoptic gospels considered by themselves; but if we admit this, then objection must be made to the method, since it is certain that other passages, in the writings of Paul, for example, show us plainly that in the thought of the early Church the death of Christ meant more than Hollmann finds in the synoptists. But this theory of the significance of the death of Christ vitiates Hollmann's interpretation of the "many" for whom Christ gave his life as a ransom. These were not merely, as Hollmann asserts, those not already believers, but those who were believers at the time of his death, and who also received benefits from the death of the world's Saviour.

Essai sur le mysticisme speculatif en Allemagne au quatorzieme siecle (An Essay on the Speculative Mysticism of Germany in the Fourteenth Century). By H. Delacroix. Paris, F.

Alcan, 1900. This very thoughtful study of mysticism does not profess to go outside of the fourteenth century, and it is but the first volume of the two necessary to complete the work. The second volume will deal with Tauler, Suso, the numerous anonymous writings, such as the *German Theology*, and include an estimate of the influence of mysticism on the life, literature, and art of Germany. The first half of the present volume deals with such subjects as Scotus Erigena, Amalrich and the Amalrichians, the Brothers of the Free Spirit, and the Beghards; all of which are preparatory to the discussion of the real theme. Thus Delacroix has made but a fair beginning of his great work in the present volume, the second half of which treats of Master Eckhart, his life and his teachings. Still, it would be erroneous to suppose that this beginning is not of the first importance. Eckhart himself is too imposing a figure to allow of such a supposition. Delacroix distinguishes two kinds of mystics. The first seeks objects suitable for the satisfaction of their hearts, their longing after love, and their enthusiasm, such as Christ, the Virgin Mary, and the saints. The second class strives to live in a purely spiritual realm, seeking after a philosophy of the heart and a theology of the emotions. Bernard of Clairvaux he regards as belonging to both classes. Contrary to Harnack, Karl Müller, and others, he maintains that there is an essential difference between the spirit of mysticism and that of scholasticism. The scholastic seeks to justify dogma, the mystic to make it comprehensible, allowing no mystery and no revelation to stand unexplored, and leaving no room for a distinction between authority and reason. Human thinking is to the mystic fundamentally identical with the Spirit of God and follows its movement. Dogma is but the formula and symbol of these movements and loses its character of dogma as soon as it becomes fully comprehensible. Scripture and creed are to the mystic no longer a source of proof, for faith gives way to knowledge; and religion to pure speculation. The distinction seems to be on the whole well made and sustained. The scholastic and the mystic both strive to make dogma comprehensible, but they do it by different means. The former employs his powers of reflection and all the means of investigation known to him; the latter ignores the intellect and its methods and seeks to secure a direct experience of the truths or dogmas held, and to see things from the standpoint of inner direct experience. This is so much the case that it has often led the mystic into making his experiences the test of all religious truth, and to set up as truth to be imposed upon others what his experiences seem to teach him is true. In spirit, at least, there is a wide difference between the scholastic and the mystic, though a judicious use of the methods of both would be most beneficial.

RELIGIOUS AND EDUCATIONAL.

Ecclesiastical Affairs in Switzerland. The census of 1900 showed that in eastern Switzerland there were 1,918,191 Evangelic-

als and 1,383,135 Roman Catholics. As compared with 1888 this is a proportionate decrease of twelve per cent for the former and an increase of ten per cent for the latter. There were 12,399 who reported themselves as Jews, and 13,253 as adhering to other confessions. These figures do not include the Lutherans of Zurich nor the Methodists. A striking fact is that of a new official hymnal, issued in 1890, about three copies, on the average, have been purchased by each Protestant family. In western Switzerland, as in eastern, the Roman Catholics have gained by immigration, and their ultramontane zeal and their frivolity have aroused Protestantism to new efforts. These are participated in by both of the small free Churches of Geneva, but principally by the Evangelical Union and the Evangelical Christian Association. This latter was organized recently with 155 members, and now, after three years, it has a membership of 780 persons who have pledged themselves to devote their spare time and energy to the service of the kingdom of God. The right of women to vote, especially in the calling of pastors, the movement in favor of practical disestablishment, and the anarchistic agitation are among the problems with which the Church of Geneva has to wrestle.

Evangelical Ministerial Supply in Bavaria. From 1870 to 1890 the number of vacancies was constantly greater than the supply, so that, as a rule, a young minister could be settled over a congregation not later than three years after the completion of his university studies. Toward the end of the above-named period the number of theological students began to increase so rapidly that those who finished their studies in 1892 are only now being settled over congregations, while those who came out of the universities in 1895 will, in all probability, have to wait until 1908 for settlement. This situation is largely due to two facts: first, that the parishes are supplied through patrons, who choose as suits their preference; and, second, that the number of parishes remains about the same regardless of the increase in population.

Latest French Protestant Statistics. The close of the nineteenth century brought with it a jubilant note from the Protestants, who at the beginning of that century were supposed to be dead beyond hope of resurrection. The contrast between the beginning and the end of the century is great. In 1807 there were 171 preachers, now 1,200; then there were 78 churches, now there are 1,185 churches or halls in use, while the Gospel is preached in more than 2,000 cities and towns. At the beginning of the century Protestantism had almost no works of charity, now they are numbered by the hundreds. The Protestants raise about seven million francs annually for various religious and benevolent objects, and they are foremost in all movements looking toward the improvement of public morals, and they have even in politics an important place.

SUMMARY OF THE REVIEWS AND MAGAZINES.

THE *Atlantic Monthly* (Boston) for January furnished, as usual, contents of rich and varied interest. An article by H. S. Scott gave extracts from hitherto unpublished letters written to Mary Barker by the poet Southey, of whom Sara Coleridge wrote, "The best man I have ever known." In one of them Southey makes the following comparison between himself and one of his admirations: "Landor and I as poets are each other's antipodes. He strives to muffle up his meaning in the most obscure metaphysical language. I wish to give mine stark naked. I can prove out of my Homer and my Bible and my old ballads and romances that the finest passages in poetry are always and uniformly so plain and perspicuous that you catch their full force and meaning immediately; the worst nuts have the hardest shells. A horse-chestnut has a hedgehog case that puzzles the pigs; but nectarines and strawberries dissolve on the lip. Landor is a man of great genius; he is strong, but it is an unwieldy strength. Verse painting is his talent; he makes me see, but he never makes me feel; and he is always trying to make me think, and often makes very shallow water look deep by muddying it." In another letter Southey writes, "There is more of the thunder and lightning of genius about Landor than in any other human being I ever saw." He also tells how Shelley, expelled from Oxford in his teens for printing a six-page treatise, entitled "The Necessity of Atheism," sent a copy of it to a doctor of divinity. The clergyman recommended prayer to him as the way to settle his doubts, and Shelley prayed for two months. Southey believed that Shelley's own heart would lead him right at last. In a private letter in 1806 Southey thus describes Coleridge: "He is grown very fat—which he attributes to disease, and his wife believes it. The fact is that he is always eating and drinking—morning, noon, and midnight—hardly ever without rum and water beside him, sugared to the utmost; and if he is not talking he must be eating—his mouth seems incapable of being at rest. If he does not sleep at night, up he gets for cold meat and spirits and water. If all this does not kill a man, it must needs fatten him. . . . I never saw a human countenance express such intense and loathsome arrogance of self-admiration. It is at times quite fiendish. His humor is now to be orthodox, because he has made out some metaphysical argument for the Trinity. I feel admiration and astonishment for his intellect, but grief and indignation at all that it is coupled with." Southey, in another letter, makes this comparison: "It is not a little extraordinary that Coleridge, who is proud of logic, and who has an actual love and passion for close, hard thinking, should write in so rambling and inconclusive a manner; while I, who am utterly in-

capable of that toil of thought in which he delights, never fail to express myself perspicuously and to the point." In an article on "England in 1901" Brimley Johnson wrote: "Rudyard Kipling has written a great book, which is an allegory. *Kim*, indeed, might be quoted effectively against reckless imperialism, for it contains one of the most eloquent vindications of Eastern idealism ever penned; though of course the parable goes far deeper, being a transcript of universal humanity. For here are shown, with full consciousness of their opposing tendencies, the two influences which must always build up character. Externally, the boy Kim is educated by that rough-and-ready method, so dear to our forefathers, of seeing 'the great good-tempered world.' He finds his way everywhere, and understands most things. To the subtlety and picturesque cunning of the conquered races that fostered him he learns to annex that mysterious presence and self-confidence, that instinct for success and rule, which have unquestionably established our empire. But permeating and purifying his young nature, preserving him on the one hand from becoming 'a fearful man' like the Babu, and on the other from coarsening into an average Sahib, stands that most lovable and saintly of personalities, the Thibetian Lama. He has lived for many years among men, and found 'no need to lie;' he holds that 'to abstain from action is well, for all doing is evil.' Totally indifferent to the chances of death or suffering, gazing always upon the world with the wondering joy of an innocent child, he is a true pilgrim, 'following the Middle Way,' going to 'see the Four Holy Places before he die,' seeking 'freedom from the Wheel of Things' in the 'River of the Arrow,' which 'washes away all taint and speckle of Sin.' Yet he will put aside for years, if need be, the one desire of his heart for the sake of the child; retracing the journey of many days to give him 'wisdom,' enduring much chatter of women, and always patient. Therefore Kim honors him with the loving reverence which human nature must yield to so wholly spiritual a presence. Throughout his rough-and-tumble existence, under his boasting, cunning, vitally alive, and intensely curious little being, the 'friend of all the world' is ever sensitive and loyal to the ideal of which his Lama is the personification. Except for *The Brushwood Boy*, Mr. Kipling has never before attained so nearly to the reality which is far above realism, the spiritual which embraces and permeates the material, the immortal which transcends mortality." Winthrop M. Daniels, in a paper on "Divination by Statistics," sets in the forefront a grateful recognition of the value of the statistician and his exceeding great services in a hundred fields of scientific endeavor, and then fills ten pages with criticism of the overworking of the statistical method of investigation, its liability to mislead, and its application to some realms in which it does not belong. He does not think it can be happily employed in deciphering the spiritual life of man. Referring to what he regards as "a singularly futile and pretentious" use of the statistical method in

this province, he says: "There appeared in 1900, from the pen of Professor Starbuck, of Stanford University, a book entitled *The Psychology of Religion.* The work is well accredited, for Professor William James contributes a preface, in which he pronounces the treatise to be 'a weighty addition to the current process of taking account of psychological and sociological stock,' and declares that in the book 'the statistical method has held its own.' Professor James says of the educational inferences deducible from the author's researches that 'Christians and scientists alike must find in them matter for edification and improvement.' Perhaps this latter statement is to be taken partitively, the Christians finding therein matter for edification, and the scientists for improvement. . . . Professor Starbuck proceeds most industriously from topic to topic, tabulating the Motives and Forces Leading to Conversion, Experiences Preceding Conversion, The Beliefs of Adult Life; probing with his figures to the heart of Sanctification, and concluding with Some Educational Inferences. At times one's risibles are provoked by the phraseology, as when the author nudges our elbow to observe 'how readily sanctification passes over into a pathological condition.' Indeed, the only glimpses of religious psychology which the book affords are the fragmentary bits occasionally contained in the replies of his respondents. These disclosures of the *vie intime* often glow with feeling or shine with tears, but to the author they are merely straw for his statistical bricks. The statistical empiric today is abroad, and his marks are these: He employs statistical tables to prove facts that have been commonplaces of ordinary observation years out of mind. He batters himself and his hearers into an attempt to extort an occult meaning from facts which, upon a little careful analysis, are recognized as practically self-explanatory. He parades pedagogical principles avowedly based upon a scientific psychology which, in so far as they are either true or important, have been the common possession of intelligent and sympathetic teachers for generations. And worse than all else, because at the source of all his errors, he neglects any adequate preliminary inquiry into the probability of employing statistics in a given field with success. The statistical implement is a crude one at the best."

Maurice Maeterlinck, poet, dramatist, and essayist, the "Belgian Shakespeare," writes impressively in the *North American Review* (New York) for January on "The Mystery of Justice," illustrating his subject by the prodigious catastrophes which overwhelmed Napoleon and closed his career of folly, injustice, and violence. The great and solemn mystery of man's nature is *the eternal presence of Justice in the soul.* This ideal of Justice condemns the man himself for his own wrongdoing, and impels him to mete out due punishment to other offenders. Maeterlinck, examining how this majestic sense of Justice effectively asserts itself in man, says that the

heart of him who is guilty of an unjust act becomes the scene of a tremendous drama, the supreme drama of human nature, a drama which is dangerous and deadly. Victor Hugo portrayed that drama in the soul of Jean Valjean. An act of injustice destroys the confidence a man needs to have in himself; it divides the unity, shatters the solidity, and dissolves the strength of his nature. His courage becomes cowardice or desperate rashness. He has admitted alien and abhorrent forces to corrupt and confuse his entire being. Memory becomes a disabling terror. Every man needs the sustaining knowledge of an honest past. That can make him strong in moments of apprehension and peril. A voice says to him, "In the past, when danger and trial confronted you, you were true and faithful, and you conquered. To-day circumstances are the same; you have only to be true and faithful, and you will triumph again." Very different is it if memory says, "You have progressed hitherto by injustice and falsehood. Now in this time of difficulty you must continue lying and deceiving to cover up the past, while the probability of detection, disgrace, and disaster deepens about your path." The particular subject of the paper is not the Divine Justice which sets in the heavens, the final judge and arbiter of personal destiny, nor the justice which sometimes manifests itself in nature and in events, measuring out rewards and penalties to human conduct, but the Justice which holds court and pronounces judgment in the inner chamber of man's moral nature. Maeterlinck truly says: "The entire moral being of man, his mind and his character are incapable of living and acting except in Justice. Leaving that, we leave our natural element; we are transplanted, as it were, to a planet of which we know nothing, where the ground slips from under our feet, and all disconcerts us; for, while the humblest intellect feels itself at home in Justice, and can readily foretell the consequences of every just act, the most profound and penetrating mind loses its way hopelessly in the injustice that itself has created, and can form no conception of the results that shall ensue. The man of genius who renounces the equity dear to the humblest peasant will find all paths strange to him, and these will be stranger still should he overstep the limit his own sense of Justice imposes; for the Justice that soars aloft, keeping pace with the intellect, establishes new boundaries around all it discovers, besides strengthening and rendering more insurmountable still the ancient barriers of instinct. The moment we cross the primitive frontier of equity all things seem to fail us; one falsehood gives birth to a hundred, and treachery returns by a thousand channels. If Justice be in us, we may march along boldly, for there are certain things to which the basest cannot be false; but if injustice possess us, we must beware of the justest of men, since there are things to which it is impossible they should be faithful. As our physical organism was devised for existence in the atmosphere of our globe, so is our moral organism devised for existence in Justice. Every faculty craves for it, and is more

ultimately concerned with it than with light or heat, or the laws of gravitation; and to throw ourselves into injustice is to plunge headlong into the hostile and the unknown. All that is in us has been placed there with a view to Justice; all things tend thither and urge us toward it; when we harbor injustice we are battling against our own strength; and, at the hour of inevitable punishment, when, prostrate, weeping, and penitent, we recognize that events in revolt, the sky, the universe, the invisible, are all justly in league against us, then may we truly say that, notwithstanding our falseness, we have retained a painfully intensified sense of justice even in our own injustice of choice and action." Concerning the alleged indifference of Nature to morals, the article says that the fact that Nature does not appear to be just in her dealings with mankind, that she often seems to pay no heed to the morality or immorality of our actions, does not warrant the inference that Nature has no morality. We are entitled to say that she seems indifferent whether our intentions be good or evil, but we have no right to conclude therefrom that she is destitute of morality and that equity has no place in her purpose and method. If her mode of action is different from ours there may be good reasons, unknown to us, for that difference. Underneath what seem to us cruel processes and iniquitous procedures may lie salutary and justifying reasons. Nature commands and disposes of a future reaching far beyond our vision, wherein there exists, it may be, a Justice proportioned to her vast extent, duration, and aim. As to the great Hereafter, Maeterlinck says that neither science nor philosophy knows a single fact which authorizes any man to deny the existence of conscious, responsible, personal life beyond the grave; that all experiment and research leave it, to say the least, a clear possibility that personality may survive the dissolution of death.

The Critical Review (London, England) thus notices a recent book by a gifted Englishman, who is well known to American Methodism, especially through his visit as the fraternal messenger of the British Wesleyans to our General Conference in 1896: "The Rev. Dr. W. L. Watkinson lays many readers under obligation by the issue of two small volumes, attractive both in contents and in form, bearing the title of *Studies in Christian Character, Work, and Experience*. They consist of brief papers or meditations ranging over a wide variety of topics. The subjects selected for exposition include such as these: 'The Surprises of the Judgment,' 'The Brink of Failure,' 'Dry-rot in Character,' 'Strained Piety,' 'The Dirge of the Harvest,' 'Uncaged Birds,' 'The Immortality of Influence,' etc. They are in many respects admirable studies, and make most profitable as well as pleasant reading. They are attached to Scripture texts and have the character of pulpit addresses. But they combine the touch of the man of letters with the earnest purpose of the preacher."

BOOK NOTICES.

RELIGION, THEOLOGY, AND BIBLICAL LITERATURE.

Encyclopædia Biblica. A Critical Dictionary of the Literary, Political, and Religious History, the Archæology, Geography, and Natural History of the Bible. Edited by the Rev. T. K. CHEYNE, M.A., D.D., Oriel Professor of the Interpretation of Holy Scripture at Oxford and formerly Fellow of Balliol College, Canon of Rochester, and J. SUTHERLAND BLACK, M.A., LL.D., formerly Assistant Editor of the Encyclopædia Britannica. Volume I, A to D; Volume II, E to K. Not paged. The two volumes contain 2,688 columns, and there are two columns on each page. New York: The Macmillan Company. Price, each volume, $5. To be completed in four volumes.

The publication of this new Bible dictionary so close upon the issue of the Hastings *Bible Dictionary* (Charles Scribner's Sons), of which three volumes have been issued, seemed surprising. It was, however, planned and in reality partially prepared long before the Hastings book was begun. They are both probably the better for the sharp competition which exists between them, for even theologians and men of science are human enough to need some spur to bring out their best efforts. It is well that we are to have two great Bible dictionaries instead of one, for each will serve to supplement or to correct the other. The French have long enjoyed a reputation as the chief encyclopedia makers of the world, and the Germans have not been far behind them, but when these two biblical encyclopedias are completed no language will equal English in the completeness, modernness, or scholarly character of its Bible dictionaries. It is our purpose here to give as clear an idea as may be of the advantages and disadvantages of the new Cheyne *Encyclopædia*, and it will save unnecessary discussion if we frankly compare it with the Hastings *Bible Dictionary*. By this means we may help some readers to decide which of the two they will purchase and use, or, if they buy both, which they will trust the more and in what particulars. In type and presswork the Cheyne is superior to the Hastings. Its type is smaller, indeed, but it is clear, well disposed, and amply provided with guiding insets in black face. Very much more attention has also been given to the Greek faces which are used in the book, and these contrast favorably with those used in the Hastings volume. But type and presswork are not so important as the contents, and to the more important matter we now turn. The *Encyclopædia Biblica* is dedicated to the memory of William Robertson Smith, the mention of whose name carries back the memory to his treatment by the Free Church of Scotland, and to the heresy trial which drove him from his chair at Aberdeen. That decision prevented him from teaching any more at Aberdeen, but he went off straightway to give lectures at Glasgow and

Edinburgh before great throngs of people, which disseminated his views far more widely and rapidly than the modest classroom at Aberdeen would have made possible. Besides that, Smith was soon transferred to Cambridge as professor of Arabic, where his greater opportunities and larger publications soon gave him world-wide fame as a Semitic scholar. At Cambridge he planned a new Bible encyclopedia which should incorporate his own articles already published in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, and add to them contributions from other English scholars and especially from eminent continental theologians. The articles which he secured for the *Encyclopædia Britannica* from the most distinguished German scholars, all of whom were warm admirers of the heretic Scot, showed clearly what might be expected in a biblical encyclopedia which he was to edit. But death summoned him away, a loss to the scholarship of the English race. A gentle and amiable spirit he was, full of ready helpfulness to men, and the exactness and wide range of his scholarship had not diminished his simplicity. The plans which he had perfected for a Bible dictionary were made over to Professor Cheyne, who has tried to carry them out, with the cooperation of Dr. John Sutherland Black, long assistant to Robertson Smith in the editorship of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. The two volumes that have been issued are sufficient to show clearly the spirit, methods, and execution of the whole work. But it would hardly be necessary to examine the volumes at all in order to judge properly concerning the spirit or the methods of the work, if one had read the preface with any care. The frankness of that document is engaging, and the reader who omits the preface will deprive himself of one of the most interesting parts of the whole work. Let us ask attention to a brief selection from it: "It will also doubtless be found that on large questions different writers have sometimes proposed different theories and hypotheses. The sympathies of the editors are, upon the whole, with what is commonly known as 'advanced' criticism, not simply because it is advanced, but because such criticism, in the hands of a circumspect and experienced scholar, takes account of facts and phenomena which the criticism of a former generation overlooked or treated superficially. They have no desire to 'boycott' moderate criticism, when applied by a critic who, either in the form or in the substance of his criticism, has something original to say. An 'advanced' critic cannot possibly feel any arrogance toward his more 'moderate' colleague, for probably he himself held, not very long ago, views resembling those which the moderate critic holds now, and the latter may find his precautionary investigations end in his supporting, with greater fullness and more complete arguments, as sound the views that now seem to him rash." This avows distinctly that the spirit of the *Encyclopædia* is to be *advanced*, and the word must naturally be interpreted from Cheyne's point of view. Advanced means one thing to one person and another thing to another, but advanced as Cheyne

uses and practices the idea means much more than men generally appreciate. Cheyne himself was once conservative; that stage in his development is referred to more than once in autobiographic allusions in his books and articles—and these allusions are frequent in all that he has published, for perhaps no scholar of our times ever more completely took his readers into his confidence. Long ago he passed from that stage into the moderate party, and the books which he then wrote are still with us and are still valuable, as good an example as any being his *Commentary on Isaiah*—though it would now probably be considered more conservative than moderate. He was even then more advanced than the book indicates, but was holding back part of his witness for pedagogical reasons. But from the time when that book was published (first edition, 1880; second edition, 1882; third edition, 1884) his progress to advanced views was rapid, and he seemed to the bystander to reach the summit in his elaborate and learned *Introduction to the Book of Isaiah*, published in 1895. But he passed beyond even that in some minor points in his editions of the book in Haupt's *Rainbow Bible*. Nay, he made progress even while his work in Haupt's series was passing through the press, for the English translation was published in 1898 (or was it 1897?—for it was long in press), and when the Hebrew text appeared in 1899 it contained twelve pages of double-column corrections and emendations. Furthermore, we note some progress in the article on the book of Isaiah in the volume now under review. Cheyne is ever advancing, and advanced views attained with such rapidity hardly give time for other scholars to catch up with his progress. He may well, in the quotation given above from the preface, express sympathy with moderate critics, for he could scarcely expect them at once to accept his advanced view, when they must know, if they are at all familiar with the history of criticism, that his present advanced position will be abandoned for a more advanced position to-morrow. This may appear to some eyes an unjust judgment, but a pointed example of it comes to hand even while we write. In the article on Abraham, written by Cheyne himself, the question is canvassed as to "what historical element (if any) these narratives contain," and several items are rejected as unhistorical, and then follows this enumeration: "There remain (a) the migration from Harran or from Ur Kasdim; (b) the close affinity between Abraham and Sarah, Abraham and Hagar (and Keturah), Abraham and Lot; (c) the abode and burial of Abraham near Hebron; and, underlying all these, (d) the existence of an ancestor of people of Israel bearing the name Abraham or Abram." That sounds pretty advanced, but it becomes still more advanced in the two paragraphs that follow, but are too long to quote here. But advanced though it is, nevertheless Cheyne says, "Since Abraham may be a genuine personal name, it cannot be unreasonable to hold that there is a kernel of tradition in the narratives," and nothing is said to indicate that Cheyne doubted

that Hebron, *in the southern part of Palestine*, is the place with which this shadowy Abraham is to be connected. But in the *Nineteenth Century* for January, 1902, Cheyne introduces to a wider public Winckler's *Geschichte Israels*, Part II, and with much approval both general and specific. In this book Winckler argues that Abraham is simply a "moon god," and Hebron is a geographical blunder, or a misrepresentation, for a place somewhere near Lake Merom! Cheyne does not absolutely commit himself to every point in Winckler's new theory, but he makes plain that on the whole he agrees with it. Here, then, is another *advance*. Abraham has mythical elements in the *Encyclopædia Biblica*, but in the *Nineteenth Century* he is altogether mythical—he is a moon god. This is rapid progress indeed. Let us not be misunderstood. We do not intend to disparage Cheyne's services to biblical learning. Much of his work we highly esteem. It gives a stimulus in its every line, and there is often more to be learned from it when its conclusions are wrong than from much of the secondhand, not to say second-rate, work of lesser minds. Cheyne is a scholar of the very first rank, a leader among leaders, but we are firmly persuaded a leader whom it is perilous to follow except with constant caution and repeated questioning. To put the matter in a word, his leadership is based too frequently upon his own subjective processes and not sufficiently upon rigidly scientific deduction from facts. He has carried scholars with him on some points, but not upon very many, and we believe the future is less assured to him than even the present. These two big volumes are absolutely dominated by his spirit. He has written more articles in them than any other scholar; he has added paragraphs in brackets or footnotes signed with his initials to articles written by others, in order to state his own view—a view in every case, so far as we have observed, more 'advanced' than the author of the article had set forth. The industry displayed dumfounds us. It would be surprising in any scholar, but is more wonderful when one remembers that Professor Cheyne has the use of but one eye and is a man of delicate physique. But, remarkable though the achievement is, we doubt its wisdom and its utility. In our opinion the cause of truth would be better served by a Bible dictionary written by many men representing points of view somewhat varying. This ideal seems to us well achieved in the Hastings *Dictionary*, for which Dr. Hastings has written no one of the big controversial articles. If one desires Cheyne's attitude he will find it in this *Encyclopædia Biblica*, as it seems to us, not only in the articles from his own pen, and in the additions made to the work of other scholars, but even in many articles that contain no external evidence of his hand. His spirit is so masterful that many of his colaborers appear to have wrought in that spirit, remembering as they wrote the mind of the editor for whom the work was done. In no other way can we explain some of the resemblances between the work of eminent scholars and that of

Cheyne himself. Up to this point we have spoken mainly of the Old Testament articles, and have left all too small a space in which to characterize those that relate to the New Testament. The first article to which we naturally turn is on Jesus, and one feels a sense of confidence to observe at the outset that it was written by A. B. Bruce, who is, alas! no more among men. But the article is wholly unlike Bruce's work, to which we are well accustomed. It seems almost impossible that a man who wrote so positively, so evangelically concerning our Lord in his books should in this article adopt a tone so undecided, so wavering, so skeptical. When it speaks clearly at all its words are on the negative side, but question after question is raised only to be left with some inconclusive remark. It is thoroughly unsatisfactory to evangelicals of all shades of opinion, and we believe can hardly be satisfactory to the more advanced, simply because it refrains from a definite pronouncement. It seems a sorry conclusion to a great lifework. Whatever doubt may be left in the reader's mind concerning the attitude of the *Encyclopædia* to New Testament criticism is dispelled by the article "Gospels" by E. A. Abbott, of London, and Professor Paul Schmiedel, of Zürich. The whole sweep of theological definition concerning the person and work of our Lord is brushed away in these articles, and the sum total of our knowledge of Jesus, the man, is reduced to nine brief passages in the gospels which are alone regarded as historical. The old Tübingen hypothesis of tendency-writing, which theologians have fondly supposed dead beyond hope of resurrection, appears again, in a new form indeed, but with all the old-time vigor. The book of Acts is a tendency document, and the author's "aim is to justify the Gentile Christianity of himself and his time, already on the way to Catholicism, and he seeks to do this by means of an account of the origin of Christianity." Does not this remind one strongly of the Tübingen school? Yet we are told that "we must not, with the Tübingen school, consider it [the book of Acts] conciliatory." In this same spirit all the New Testament articles are written. In them can be found no excuse for the position of authority which the Church has always given to the New Testament, nor can we discern any clear indication that any special authority would be given by Abbott and Schmiedel to the shadowy Jesus whom they have preserved for us. The new discipline of biblical theology receives much less attention than in the Hastings *Dictionary*. Because Cheyne and Black think that the time for it has hardly yet come; but the few articles that deal with it in part are to us sadly disappointing. The small article on "Faith" is written by Cheyne, and is notable not so much for what it says as for what it omits. So far as we can see it omits everything that evangelical theologians would deem valuable. The residuum is almost wholly negative, and there is the positive statement that "When, however, the Son had come, some new phrase, or at any rate some old phrase which could be invested with a new dignity, seemed to be required to

express the joyous and undoubting confidence which Jesus sought to cultivate in his disciples; that phrase was faith. For himself, as we have seen, he asked not faith, but trust." In spirit the most advanced possible, in method scientific, in execution eminently skilled—this is our judgment as a whole. We are persuaded that this view of the Scriptures will not prevail now, or ever. We have, however, high hopes that the same scientific method will produce—may, is producing—in other hands fresh and invigorating views of truth, the tendency of which is constructive and not destructive. In many articles in the Hastings *Bible Dictionary* we discern views of this kind, and, without giving assent to all therein contained, we nevertheless can point to it, as we have frequently done elsewhere, as a dictionary in every way superior to Cheyne for preachers and thoughtful laymen. In no such way can we commend the *Encyclopædia Biblica*. If the views which it presents concerning the Bible could by any means win a rapid acceptance a revolution would be caused, the like of which the Church has never known. Even were these views true, the results of such a revolution would be disastrous to faith. If they are true—and this we do not believe—they must be reached by stages even slower than those through which Cheyne himself has passed. If, then, we pronounce a judgment unfavorable to this *Encyclopædia Biblica* as a handbook for preachers generally, it may well be asked what service, if any, it is likely to perform. The answer is ready, and we believe clear and consistent. The spirit of the book is wrong, the method is partially right, and the execution is admirable. In that last clause lies the clew to its value. A number of the world's greatest scholars have worked patiently and laboriously upon these long and learned articles, and not all of their labor is in vain. In mere scholarship, and without reference to spirit, purpose, or method, the Cheyne *Encyclopædia* is superior to the Hastings *Dictionary*, and any man who is struggling after the highest scholarship must have it, for comparison, for supplementing the Hastings book at various points, for verification of details concerning geography, history, and textual criticism. To those few specially trained and firmly established men among us who are able to exercise judgment in separating out the passing hypothesis from the abiding truth these two great volumes, rich in instruction for the wise and prudent, may be commended as part of the complete outfit for modern critical biblical study.

What is Christianity? By ADOLF HARNACK, Professor of Church History in the University of Berlin. Lecture delivered in the University 1899-1900. Translated into English by Thomas Bailey Saunders. Royal 8vo, pp. 322. Second edition. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. Price, cloth, $1.75.

This late contribution of Professor Harnack, somewhat larger than the pamphlet entitled *Christianity and History*, and much smaller than the comprehensive *History of Dogma*, represents its author as historian, theologian, and Christian man. At the same time, these

sixteen lectures—for such is the form of the work—seem to indicate a profound religious spirit now reawakening in the German people. In the presence of six hundred students of the University of Berlin these lectures were delivered. They are now printed in a form suggestive of the energetic speaker and an eager class room. The question as to the essential nature of Christianity is treated, as Harnack himself observes, in a purely historical manner. Nevertheless, because the author would avoid the characterless method of archæology and would bring out the essential and enduring in the Christian religion, a certain philosophic insight is made necessary. As a result, the content of the book is twofold: 1. The Gospel, its principles and its particular phases; 2. The Gospel in the various stages of Christian history. Exercising the function of historian and critic, Harnack perceives tendencies which might have escaped one who looked at Christianity as an abstract system. Thus it is that Harnack has been able to note how nineteenth century thought has appreciated the significance of this religion. At the beginning of the century, such prophetic spirits as Goethe and Carlyle made Christianity, as such, a subject for consideration; in the closing years of this period there are witnessed the peculiar interpretations of Tolstoi and Nietzsche. The latter's favorite characterization of Christianity—"*die Ummertung aller Werte*"—occurs in this work of Harnack (p. 44). Harnack's own view is an advanced one. Nevertheless, a note of conservatism is struck when this historian states that Christ's doctrine is not to be found prefigured or represented in systems which are often regarded as resembling Christianity, and as having influenced its formation. Christ was, of course, affected by the Old Testament; but, in striking contrast to St. Paul, he seems in no wise to have been influenced by the school of rabbis. Nor was he related to the Essenes. Greek thought, which, like the Greek language, was spread abroad through Galilee, did not influence him. From his thirty years of silence an important lesson may thus be learned. But what is the essence of Christianity? In aiming to answer this question Harnack leaves unsaid various theological doctrines which are usually found in the New Testament, and attempts to state just what the latter, more especially in the gospels, contains. Here is the analysis: 1. The kingdom of God, and its coming. 2. God the Father, and the infinite value of the human soul. 3. The higher righteousness (*die bessere Gerechtigkeit*), and the commandment of love. The idea of the kingdom is significant of Ritschl's system, and may be traced as far back as Kant's philosophy of religion. In Harnack's mind the kingdom signifies divine power in the soul of man. Historically, we may not emphasize the dramatic and political cast of the doctrine, where angels and demons, thrones and kingdoms play their part; but must rather consider such figurative representations as are to be found in the parables of the pearl of great price, the treasure in the field, the seed in the ground. As a result, the kingdom may be viewed as (1) supernatural; (2) consisting of a purely

religious benefit; (3) the most important thing in human life. Secondly, the idea of the Father is compared with the other one, of the soul's infinite worth. By virtue of such a comparison Christianity is here represented as the religion of divine Sonship (*Gotteskindschaft*). Just this description is given by Pfleiderer, Harnack's colleague, at Berlin, but no friend of Ritschlianism. The conception of Fatherhood involves three subordinate elements: 1. The pater noster, a prayer significant of the lofty character of Christianity; 2. The fatherly providence of God, who notes even the sparrow's fall; 3. The fact that the children of the living God are more valuable than many sparrows, or even the whole world. Thirdly, The higher righteousness, differing as it did from the doctrine which was delivered to those of olden time, found its motive in love toward neighbors, aliens, and enemies. By means of the virtue of humility this new morality blossomed into religion. Such is the Gospel in itself; in detail, various definite relations are set up by it. A half dozen ramifications of Christianity in life and thought are now noted by the author. Four of these constitute questions relative to asceticism, socialism, rights, and culture. The two remaining questions are definitely theological; they consider the ideas of an evangelical Christology and a Christian confession. For Harnack the method of Christology would seem to consist in the *Selbstzeugniss Jesu*, or what Matthew Arnold used to call "the testimony of Jesus with regard to himself." In this connection Harnack seems to despair of giving a "psychology" of Christ; as a result, he endeavors simply to elucidate Gospel expressions as to Christ's nature. With the disciples belief in Christ seems to have been conditioned by such practical acceptance of his Gospel as would lead the disciple to keep his commandment; as well as by the speculative conception of God as the Father, to whom Christ himself was subject, as his progress and his obedience make manifest. With this double qualification, Christ is considered as being the Son of God and Son of man. Christ's own consciousness as Son of God seems to have rested upon his knowledge of God. "No man knoweth the Father save the Son." In thus characterizing Christ, Harnack says: "His consciousness of being God's Son is nothing but the practical consequence of the knowledge of God as the Father and as his Father. Rightly understood, the knowledge of God is the whole content of the name Son" (p. 81). Jesus felt that he was the one appointed to make this knowledge known through word and deed. "We must be satisfied to maintaining that this Jesus who taught knowledge of self and also humility called himself and himself alone the Son of God" (p. 82). The other term, Son of man, must be understood in a Messianic sense. With Christ it was the means by which he, who was aware of his divine Sonship and calling, made himself known during the history of Judaic religion. A confession, or Christological creed, was far removed from the method of Christ. To call him Lord the disciple must do his will; confessing him was a purely practical

matter. These two theological articles naturally lead to a consideration of Christ's person as this was held in the apostolic period. The early Christian community was characterized by three elements: 1. The recognition of Jesus as the living Lord; 2. A religion of experience; 3. A life of holiness. The first article relates itself to the question of Christology; in Harnack's mind it consisted in a peculiar view of Christ's death and resurrection. "This death had the *value* of a sacrificial death." The apostles believed that "he through the suffering of death wrought something decisive and that he did it for us." But this is far removed from any theory of the atonement. With the belief in Christ's resurrection came the recognition of him as Lord. Such recognition was the determinant in the early Church. Harnack's work is almost purely historical; as a result he has considered the epistolary portion of the New Testament not so much as organic to the actual essence of Christianity as the leading period in the Church's history. Such subordination is a questionable method.

Der Wahrheitsgehalt der Religion. By RUDOLPH EUCKEN. Gr. 8, S. iv, 444. Leipzig: Veit & Comp. Price, cloth, $2.15.

Among the very earliest of twentieth century productions in religion and philosophy stands this characteristic work of Professor Eucken. It appeared in May, 1901. Of this author's larger and more systematic works this one may be considered as the sixth. Remarkable insight into the spirit of speculative thought and the enduring interest in what is spiritual characterize Eucken's system. In these respects *Der Wahrheitsgehalt der Religion* is no exception. The reader of this work will find it difficult, yet he will readily appreciate it as surcharging the atmosphere of thought with a spirit which is conducive to profound religious reflection. *Der Wahrheitsgehalt der Religion* consists of five parts, the first and last of which refer to Christianity and its position in current philosophical thought. The other three divisions, which make up the body of the work, treat of the founding of universal religion—the opposition to religion, and characteristic religion. From such a point of view religion is looked upon as being the emancipation of the human spirit from the imperfect condition of his immediate and ordinary life, for that more fitting realm of existence which is to be found in a spiritual life. Here is set up a striking contrast between the *Durchschnittsleben* and the *Geistesleben*. As the author informs us, in his preface, the work is not meant to be a system of *Religionsphilosophie*. As a result, we cannot estimate its importance by comparing it with the analytical study of Siebeck or the constructive system of Pfleiderer. It is in the light of a new theory of human life that the work must be considered. Important as a contribution to current religious thought, *Der Wahrheitsgehalt* stands out as a unique creation, rather than as an authority. Eucken's system of noological idealism distinguishes itself from both the an-

ient feeling for æsthetic and logical form and the modern attempt to view all reality as so much energy, all life as so much power. At the same time, it opposes modern naturalism and intellectualism. This is effected by creating a view of spiritual life as the latter is represented in essential culture (*Wesensbildung*). It is natural to expect that such a method and such a system would be most vividly represented in the sphere of religion. Such is indeed the case. Spiritual life is now no longer discussed in a general way, as the background of philosophy, but is now submerged under the notion of an "absolute life." Here enters in, to fill out this philosophic form, the idea of the Divine. The absolute life represents the realm of religion. By means of such a thought the fact of the spiritual is assured, while the character of religion is rendered more substantial. Yet Eucken's work is in no sense a system of theism. The author speaks disparagingly of the "colorless concept of Godhead," but only to embrace instead of this the thought of the "living personal God." Herein the notion of absolute life finds a more definite determination. Departing from the method of Lotze, Eucken pursues his investigation in the light of a new view of the world and of life. But what shall be called the method thus pursued? In general, Eucken distinguishes it from both psychological and metaphysical forms of treatment, and calls it a noological one. The sphere in which this is manifested is not that of science or speculation, but is to be found in spiritual culture (*Wesensbildung*). Once, at least, in his work (p. 140) the author refers indirectly to his method as being "*meta-psychical.*" Here is indicated a consistent departure from psychology; the meta-psychical relates to the history of human culture rather than to the natural history of society. Employing such a method, the goal which is ever kept in view is that of truth; hence the central idea—*Wahrheitsgehalt.* This reminds the reader that the earliest of works in philosophy of religion, produced early in the seventeenth century, was Herbert of Cherbury's treatise, *De Veritate* (1624). Where Eucken departs from metaphysical determinations it is only to introduce (p. 123, *et seq.*) a new conception of truth, as shall be in harmony with the principle of absolute spiritual life. The realm of religion is made manifest in vivid way when Eucken speaks (p. 322, *et seq.*) of the "love of enemies as the evidence of a new world-order." He who is moved by such an ethical principle is in touch with a supernatural scene of things. Herein consists the strategic position of the Christian religion, and within the pale of Christian thought the work of Eucken is conducted. Christianity is the starting point and goal of the work; it is styled the "religion of religions;" with Buddhism, but superior to the latter, it is a "religion of redemption;" its central idea is to be found in the kingdom of God. Inwardly viewed, Christianity is twofold, consisting, as Lessing used to say, in the "religion of Christ and the Christian religion." In Eucken's mind Christianity consists in a belief of Christ himself

and a faith *in* him on the part of the apostles; for them it was not sufficient to belief *with* Jesus; it was necessary that they should believe *on* him. Traditional ideas of Christianity must be expanded to appreciate the spiritual character of religion, just as the religious life in the soul must become amenable to true culture. When this culture is not secular, but genuine and spiritual, it assumes the form of *Wesensbildung*. And such is the true aim of Christianity; when this is seen the future of religion can only be regarded with trust and hopefulness.

The Acts of the Apostles, with Maps, Introduction, and Notes, by the late T. RAWSON LUMBY, D.D., Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity. 16mo, pp. xxxix, 387. New York: The Macmillan Company. Price, cloth, $1.15.

This valuable commentary, the fifteenth edition since 1882, has just been reissued in most attractive and handy form. Nothing could be more timely than such a work on the Acts of the Apostles. Although Luke's second treatise to Theophilus is acknowledged to be, in many respects, as important a single contribution to New Testament literature as we possess, yet fresh and available commentaries upon it in our own tongue are exceeding few. The international Sunday school lessons of the current season have created a large demand for just such a book on Acts, and it is with unfeigned pleasure that we call the attention of Bible students to this work, and, second, the statement of another, who says: "There is probably not a better and more exhaustive commentary on Acts than this, for its purpose." Dr. Lumby was for years a popular professor of divinity in Cambridge University, and his temper and training place him in the front rank of Bible expositors. He does not feel the necessity of accepting Ramsay's opinion that Luke set out to write a trilogy of books, the third of which, supplementing Acts with an account of the later labors and martyrdom of Paul, either was never written or has failed to come down to us. The seeming abruptness with which Luke closes the Acts is explained by Dr. Lumby as in keeping with the design of the writer, who declares in the first chapter that his object in the former work had been to explain what Jesus *began* to do and teach and that he now means to carry on the history in the same spirit by narrating what the disciples of Jesus *began* to do and teach after his departure from them. It is, then, a history of beginnings only, and shows how the Lord's injunctions that his followers should be witnesses unto him "both in Jerusalem, and in all Judea, and in Samaria, and unto the uttermost parts of the earth" was faithfully and successfully carried out, "for in reaching Rome the message of the Gospel has potentially come unto the uttermost parts of the earth." Dr. Lumby's discussion, in his introduction, of the "we" passages and of the sources of the narrative of Acts is peculiarly clear and satisfying. No writer has treated these problems, together with the oft-alleged difficulties in the character of Luke's narratives, with a

surer hand. There are three hundred and eighty pages of compact notes on the text, which is taken from Dr. Scrivener's Paragraph Bible, and is of superior dignity and accuracy. As a specimen we quote from those on chapter ix, 9—"And he was three days without sight:" "During this time we cannot but think the illumination of his mind was being perfected by the Spirit. He had been convinced by the vision that Jesus was risen from the dead and ascended into heaven. But more than this was needed for the preparation of this mighty missionary. He himself (Gal. i, 16) speaks of God revealing his Son not only *to* but *in* him, and that his conferences were not with flesh and blood; and we are told below (verse 12) that the coming of Ananias had been made known unto him by vision. To this solemn time of darkness may also perhaps be referred those 'visions and revelations of the Lord' which the apostle speaks of to the Corinthians (2 Cor. xii, 1-4). While his bodily powers were for a time in suspense, he may fitly describe himself as not knowing whether what he saw was revealed to him 'in the body or out of the body,' and it was the spiritual vision only which saw the third heaven and paradise, and the spirit heard those 'unspeakable words which it is not lawful for a man to utter.'" Also verse 18—"And immediately there fell from his eyes as it had been scales:" "The word 'scales' is used as a technical term for a disease of the eyes by Hippocrates, and the verb derived from it is found (Tobit xi, 13) used of the cure of a disease of similar character: 'And the whiteness *pilled away* from the corners of his eyes.' This 'whiteness' is rendered in the margin (Tobit ii, 10) 'white films' and was clearly something like the 'scales' which caused Saul's blindness, and a process for the cure thereof is called (iii, 17) 'to scale away the whiteness of Tobit's eyes.' St. Paul (Acts xxii, 11) attributes his blindness to the glory of the heavenly light, and it may have been some secretion, caused by the intensity of that vision, which formed over them and at his cure fell away. Some have thought that his constant employment of an amanuensis, and the mention of the large characters in which he wrote in his Epistle to the Galatians (vi, 11), 'Ye see in what large letters I have written to you,' are indications that the apostle suffered permanently in his eyesight from the heavenly vision."

There are four excellent maps (nobody makes better maps than the Cambridge Press), and the work is ended with an ample index, besides a list of about sixty words and phrases explained in the commentary.

PHILOSOPHY, SCIENCE, AND GENERAL LITERATURE.

Indoor Studies. By JOHN BURROUGHS. 16mo, pp. 235. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Price, cloth, $1.25.

The wildwood scent which floats through *Wake Robin*, *Locusts and Wild Honey*, *Fresh Fields*, *Signs and Seasons*, and *Birds and*

Poets is also here. If the book were anonymous we could guess the author. Naturally enough, the first indoor study is of an outdoor man, Henry D. Thoreau, inspector of storms, surveyor of forest paths and across-lot routes, lover and poet of wild nature; who yet wrote, "I would fain communicate the wealth of my life to men, would really give them what is most precious in my gift. I would secrete pearls with the shellfish, and lay up honey with the bees, for them. I will sift the sunbeams for the public good. I know no riches I would keep back." Of him Burroughs says: "He had a deeper centerboard than most men, and he carried less sail. The passions and ambitions which are sail that often need to be close-reefed, he was quite free from. . . . He had no worldly temporizing qualities; he was impatient of the dross and alloy of life—would have it pure flame, pure aspiration and purpose. . . . He strove to keep the bloom of native innocence unimpaired, saying that one cannot even voluntarily know evil without being *particeps criminis*." He said he did not wish to take a cabin passage in life, but rather to ship before the mast and on the deck of the world. Thoreau's own words best decant the liquor of his nature. His indifference to public events is in this: "I would not run around the corner to see the world blow up;" and in this: "Methinks I would hear with indifference if a trustworthy messenger informed me that the sun drowned himself last night." His independence is in this: "In heaven I hope to bake my own bread and clean my own linen." Writing to a correspondent who boasted of doing some big mountain-climbing, he said: "It is after we get home that we really go over the mountain, if ever. What did the mountain do? What did it say? I keep a mountain anchored off eastward a little way, which I ascend in my dreams, both awake and asleep. . . . I find that I go up it when I am light-footed and earnest. I am not aware that a single villager frequents it or knows of it. I keep this mountain to ride instead of a horse." Poet though he was, the bird Thoreau most admired was Chanticleer, crowing early in the morning; the merit of that strain is its freedom from plaintiveness; "it is an expression of the health and soundness of nature." "Many singers can move us to tears or laughter, but where is he who can excite in us a pure morning joy? When that voice breaks the awful stillness of our wooden sidewalk on a Sunday, or when, perchance while watching in the house of mourning, I hear a cockerel crow, far or near, I think to myself, 'Thank Goodness! There's one of us well at any rate,' and with a sudden gush return to my senses." Burroughs says that Thoreau pitched his *Walden* in this key; he claps his wings and gives forth a clear, cheery, triumphant note—if only to wake his neighbors up. One recalls Emily Dickinson's saying that cooking stoves and roosters serve to bring her mind down from living too much in the air. Though a poet-naturalist himself, Thoreau said, "Man cannot afford to be a naturalist, to look at Nature directly; he must look only with the side of his

He must look through and beyond her. To look only at her was as fatal as to look at the head of Medusa. It turns the man of science to stone." He watched the approach of spring as a doctor watches the progress of a critical case. He felt the pulse of the world and took the temperature of the day at all hours. He says, "The note of the first bluebird in the air answers to the purling rill of melted snow beneath; it is soft and soothing, and, as surely as the thermometer, indicates a higher temperature; it is the accent of the south wind, its vernacular." Yet he confesses that no mortal is alert enough to be present at the first dawn of spring. Burroughs calls him "Nature's reporter, who took down the words as they fell from her lips." A lady who had tried to loan Thoreau the life of Dr. Chalmers said, "Think of it—he wouldn't read the life of Chalmers, but he stood half an hour to-day to listen to the frogs croak." In the essay on "Science and Literature" the following is read with some wonder: "Darwin's sympathies were so large and comprehensive; the mere science in him is so perpetually overarched by that which is not science, but faith, insight, imagination, prophecy, inspiration—'substance of things hoped for, evidence of things not seen;' his love of truth so deep and abiding, and his determination to see facts in their relations and as they issue in principle so unsleeping—that both his poetic and religious emotions, as well as his scientific proclivities, found full scope, and his demonstration becomes almost a song." In "Science and the Poets" Burroughs writes chiefly of Emerson, who cared little for science for its own sake, but who turned to ideal and moral uses its facts and laws. Emerson wrote, "The human heart concerns us more than the poring into microscopes, and is larger than can be measured by the compous figures of the astronomer." He is the astronomer and philosopher of the moral sentiment, and shows the wonders of the soul to be like to, but greater than, those which physical science reveals. Twelve pages are given to showing up Victor Hugo as "A Malformed Giant." Of *The Hunchback of Notre Dame*, one of Hugo's masterpieces, Burroughs says: "It is full of monstrosities, moral and physical, full of distorted passions, unhallowed lusts, fiendish brutalities, diabolical ravings, writhing agonies, hideous grimaces, sepulchral wailings—full of all manner of underground horrors and above-ground abominations. It is a carnival of the loathsome. The earth is rotten, the sunshine pestiferous, the waters Stygian; Paris is a den of thieves and cutthroats, love is lechery and passion is death." *Indoor Studies* close with eight briefer essays, and "An Egotistical Chapter," in which we get glimpses that help us to see John Burroughs as he sees himself. He thinks that what freshness and primal sweetness his books contain is owing to his non-literary surroundings. "Constant intercourse with bookish men and literary circles would have dwarfed my literary faculty. This mutual rubbing of heads together, as in the literary clubs, seems to result in literary sterility. In my own case, at least, what I

most needed was what I had—*a few books* and *plenty of real things*." Encouraging words, these, for those who think their environment unfavorable because unliterary, or unspiritual, or unrefined. Literature, Burroughs thinks, is vitalized by keeping near to nature and to God. "In nature, in God, we live and move and have our being. Our life depends on the purity and closeness of the connection. We want and must have nature at first hand—water from the spring, milk from the udder, air from the open. . . . Keep me close to nature, is the constant demand of literature; open the windows and let in the air, the sun; let in health and strength; my blood must have oxygen, my lungs must be momentarily filled with the fresh unhoused element." Here is one of our author's dislikes: "Swinburne has lilt and flow, but I cannot read him; he sickens me; I am adrift in a sea of melodious words with never an idea to cling to. There is something grewsome and uncanny about Swinburne's poetry, like the clammy and rapid-growing fungi in nature. It is not health, but disease; it is not inspiration, but a mortal flux." To Bryant, Whittier, and Longfellow, Burroughs tells us he owes pleasure, solace, and encouragement, but no new territory. As a thinker and writer, fishing for ideas, he says, "I have often caught my fish when I least expected to, and as often my most determined efforts have been entirely unavailing." This saying, however, should not discourage from determined, patient, and prolonged efforts, without which, indeed, no trained thinker is ever made.

School, College and Character. By LE BARON RUSSELL BRIGGS. 12mo, pp. 14[illegible]. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Price, cloth, $1.

The dedication in verse is "To Harvard College," and breathes the spirit of devotion due from loyal sons to worthy *alma mater*. The preface says: "This book does not profess unity or completeness. It is not a full orchestra, but a harp with two strings, which the harper twangs as long as he thinks the audience will put up with him. Whatever is in it comes out of human experience; and this is its justification, if it has one." The five essays talk in a practical way about "Some Aspects of Grammar-School Training," "The Transition from School to College," "Fathers, Mothers, and Freshmen," "College Honor," and express vigorously and, as we think, unanswerably "Some Old-fashioned Doubts about New-fashioned Education." When this last-mentioned essay appeared in the *Atlantic Monthly* a distinguished superintendent of schools and champion of the new-fashioned methods asked hotly *who* the editor of the *Atlantic* was and *how* he ever came to print such nonsense. To this Mr. Briggs retorts, "One thing is certain: he who writes nonsense about education is in excellent company." The editor of the *Atlantic Monthly* in the last January number told of an angry Southerner who wrote concerning a "color-line" story, "Why can't you Northerners be decent?" when, as it chanced, the author was a Southerner, born in the same county where the angry complainant

lived. Another exasperated reader declared that "the silly, ignorant twaddle" of an article in the editorial pages would never have been printed in the good old editorial days of Howells and Aldrich; whereas that very article was from Mr. Aldrich's faultless pen. Speaking of the way in which some college professors throw off all responsibility for their students outside of the class room, the author quotes one of them as saying: "My business is to teach *men;* if students are not men, I don't want them in my classes; if they don't care to learn, let them go their own way. What becomes of them is no business of mine. If they have to leave college, so much the better for the college and for them. The first, last, and only duty of a teacher in a university is to advance the knowledge of his subject: he is false to his trust if he spends time and strength in patching up worthless boys who have no place in our institution of learning." An old-fashioned college professor, with a larger conception of his duty, said long ago, "I hold it to be my business to do what I can for any wight that comes to this place." Another old-fashioned notion is thus expressed: "The first lesson of education is the lesson of getting down to hard work and doing the work thoroughly. It may be learned by a boy or girl who never goes to school, learned on a farm or in a mill. The first business of a school is to teach concentration, application, power of tackling intellectual work—qualities which sooner or later a man must have if he is to succeed in life, and which he got in his boyhood if he had the right kind of parents, and was the right kind of boy, and went to the right kind of school." "The curse of modern education," says one professor, "is multiplication of subjects and painless methods." The attitude which is fostered in our young people by the methods of to-day is described by Martineau thus: "Virtually the student says to the teacher, 'Mind, you must not be dull, or I will go to sleep; you must make lessons agreeable, or I will not study; you must attract me, or I shall not get on an inch.' The half-weakly, half-insolent tone of many young people toward the Church, the school, the college, and their parents, is, 'If you want us to be virtuous, heroic, learned, and accomplished, you will have to exert yourselves, and be very agreeable. We are willing to gratify you, but we cannot tolerate anything dry, hard, ascetic, or exacting. The duty of the teacher or the preacher is to waft us to Parnassus or to heaven on gentle zephyrs; otherwise each must endure the pain of seeing us conclude to go somewhere else.' Such a mood makes impossible any noble thought or action." Dr. Martineau said that in his own early youth education was thought of more use to correct the weak side of one's nature than to develop its strong side; so he gave double time to the studies he disliked. He holds that the power to drudge at distasteful tasks is the test of faculty and the condition of knowledge, and that without this power no man can be a true scholar or a true Christian. The boy who expects to have his inclinations indulged, the kind of boy who might result numerously from certain

modern methods, is described by Mr. Dooley as being received at college thus: "The prisidint takes him into a Turkish room, gives him a cigareet, and says, 'Me dear boy, what speshul branch iv larnin' wud ye loike to *have studied fur ye* be our compitint profussors?'" The methods satirized promise to be bracing and immensely disciplinary to the teachers, and ought to produce a mighty lot of giants in professional chairs; but alas for the petted, pampered, and babied boys! A wise teacher expresses doubts as to the robustness to be acquired by rolling down hill along the lines of least resistance.

William Shakespeare: Poet, Dramatist, and Man. By HAMILTON WRIGHT MABIE, Author of *My Study Fire*, etc. Crown 8vo, pp. 419. New York: The Macmillan Company. Price, cloth, $2.

To draw a new portrait of that genius at whose feet three centuries of men have cast their tributes is an adventurous undertaking for any but a qualified scholar. Dr. Mabie's task is indeed great. Shakespeare towers to such a colossal height among the masters of his age who gave a new impulse to English letters that his giant proportions awe those who approach, while the innumerable treatises that have been issued upon the Shakespearean times form an additional reason why Dr. Mabie might well have hesitated to increase that literature. Yet we cannot but feel that he has handled his difficult undertaking with wisdom and profit. In the lack of an Introduction—which so often helps immeasurably to the understanding of an author's purpose—we are led to conclude that his aim has been a portrayal of the man and his period for the general reader, rather than for the specialist. But in the conscientious dedication of his literary and critical quality, which has already won him a standing place among our prominent essayists and reviewers, to this apparent purpose he has produced that to which the specialist, no less than the uncritical and emotional reader, must give his willing assent. Not the least impressive part of the book is its opening chapter on "The Forerunners of Shakespeare." The author does not forget that in letters, as in art, a graceful portico is necessary to a symmetrical structure. He, therefore, traces in charmful and instructive phrase the growth of the drama from the earliest times, when men had "the fresh and responsive imagination of childhood," through the centuries when the Church itself portrayed by vivid representation the great events of the Christian story, to the days when the more immediate predecessors of Shakespeare slowly evolved the play and the occupation of the player. Of the ambitious, if crude, work of John Heywood, Nicholas Udall, John Still, Sackville, Greene, Nash, and Marlowe, among others, he writes in consecutive and entertaining description, and the portico—like a cathedral entrance rich in its artistic carving—is imposing. Thereafter follows in chronological order the story of the great dramatist's birth and early life in Stratford on the Avon, his marriage and long residence in London, his

return to his native scenes, and his too early death, in this running narrative being happily blended such an analytic study of Shakespeare's plays that the general reader, however lacking in the critical quality or in detailed knowledge of the works of the great master, may easily discern the ground upon which the dramatist rests his immortal fame. A suggestion of this treatment is found in the captions of some of the chapters, as those which are entitled "The Poetic Period," "The Sonnets," "The Historical Plays," "The Comedies," "The Approach of Tragedy," "The Earlier Tragedies," "The Later Tragedies," "The Ethical Significance of the Tragedies," and "The Romances." With one brief extract from the author's estimate of the poetic and philosophic qualities in Shakespeare we must here content ourselves: "As a poet he saw with the clearness of direct vision and felt with the freshness and power of spontaneous emotion, and he instinctively passed behind the fact to the truth which it suggested or illustrated; but this spontaneous action of his nature was broadened, deepened, and brightened by quick and sensitive perception of the value and uses of methods, tools, and instruments of every kind, and by habitual meditation on the spectacle of life as it lay in his imagination. It is impossible to separate the poetic and the philosophic in his nature; to mark the points at which the process of observation ends and the free play of the imagination begins; to sever that which was acquired from that which was creative in him; to divide the conscious from the unconscious elements in his power and his life; to distinguish between the thinker and the poet in his work. His work reveals with the utmost clearness a coherent and profound view of life, consistently set forth in a long series of dramas; every page bears the unmistakable stamp of the thinker; but the mind behind this varied and splendid work is the mind of a poet, and the personality which shapes all this material into forms of beauty is that of the artist. When this point of view is taken Shakespeare's genius does not cease to be marvelous, but it does cease to be incredible." The typographer, it is hardly necessary to say, has done his part to enrich the volume. To a clear text are added frequent illustrations, which—if they do not always accompany the specific passage to which they belong—give a vividness to every page, and will recall to many their summer tarrying in beautiful Stratford and the fascinating walk across the tranquil English fields to the flower-embosomed cottage at Shottery. We look in vain, through the book, for the discussion of such an issue as the Baconian authorship. Holding himself steadily, as it would seem, to the personality of the great playwright and the interpretation of his plays, Dr. Mabie has had the courage to omit much that is valuable. Without any attempt at fustian, but in a comprehensive and skilled interpretation of the great poet's life which never lags, he has prosecuted his task. To say that his work is inspiring and is entitled to a place among the desirable Shakespearean volumes of recent issue is safely within the bounds of justice.

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, AND TOPOGRAPHY.

James Russell Lowell. A Biography, by HORACE ELISHA SCUDDER. Two volumes, 12mo, pp. 455, 482. Boston & New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Price, cloth, $3.50.

With the two volumes of Lowell's *Letters* edited by Charles Eliot Norton, and Edward Everett Hale's *Lowell and His Friends*, and other similar books yet to come, and this biography, one personality, at least, conspicuous in American literature will be thoroughly portrayed and expounded. Mr. Scudder's work is so well done as to call for appreciation rather than criticism. As far back as Lowell could remember in his childhood he was visited by visions night and day. An oft-recurring dream was of having the earth put into his hand like an orange. His boyhood delight in all the stir of life and pageant of beauty around him presaged the future poet. Of that time he says, "The balancing of a yellow butterfly over a thistle bloom was spiritual food and lodging for a whole forenoon." When his education has been given him, and he nears the stern necessity of depending on his own exertions for a living, he writes a college friend: "Let us rejoice in the days of our youth. We shall find it very different when we come to support ourselves. Good old Homer in the Odyssey makes Telemachus tell Minerva, 'Well may they laugh and sing and dance, for they are eating the bread of another man.' Now we who eat our father's bread at present may be as merry as we will. But very different will it be when every potato that we eat shall seem water-soaked with the sweat of our brows." The embarrassment and sensitiveness from which the young often suffer appear in this confession: "I cannot in society appear what I really am. I go out sometimes with my heart so full of yearning toward my fellows that even strangers passing me with indifferent look bring tears to my eyes." He was so disheartened by his own protracted vacillation in the choice of a profession as to write, "I begin to doubt whether I was made for anything in particular but to loiter through life and then become manure." Once, in this nightmare of impotent indecision, he actually put a cocked pistol to his forehead, but lacked courage to pull the trigger. By this time the world had ceased to seem like an orange put into his hand for him to suck; rather it was like a huge, bleak, icy sphere, too slippery for him to keep a footing on it. But on his twenty-fourth birthday Lowell could write in autobiographic strain thus courageously:

> Now have I quite passed by that cloudy If
> That darkened the wild hope of boyish days.
> When first I launched my slender-sided skiff
> Upon the wide sea's dim, unsounded ways:
> Now doth Love's sun my soul with splendor fill,
> And Hope hath struggled upward into Power,
> Soft Wish is hardened into sinewy Will,
> And Longing into Certainty doth tower.

we feel that something of young Lowell's own aspiration for himself speaks in the words which he puts into Cromwell's mouth:

> For success I ask no more than this—
> To bear unflinching witness to the truth.
> All true whole men succeed; for what is worth
> Success's name unless it be the thought,
> The inward surety to have carried out
> A noble purpose to a noble end,
> Although it be the gallows or the block?

Soon after Lowell's marriage, in 1844, he and his wife spent some time in Philadelphia, occupying a small third-story back room, low enough to be an attic, at 127 Arch Street, from which Mrs. Lowell wrote to Mrs. Nathaniel Hawthorne, "James's prospects are as good as an author's ought to be, and I begin to fear we shall not have the satisfaction of being so *very* poor after all. But, spite of this disappointment of our expectations, we are the happiest of mortals, and cling to the skirts of every passing hour, though we know the next will bring us still more joy." About this time Lowell broke with the churches and the clergy because of their attitude toward great reforms, especially toward the question of slavery. Among the Philadelphia Quakers he breathed an antislavery atmosphere. To Longfellow he wrote: "Christ has declared war against the Christianity of the world and it must down. The Church, that great hulk of our practical paganism, must be reformed from foundation to weathercock." In articles printed in the *Pennsylvania Freeman*, Lowell said that wherever there is dereliction to pure ideals on the part of the more intellectual and spiritual members of the Church there will be the greater zeal of the more brutal and unintelligent in defense of the Church. After instancing the cries of the Jewish populace for the crucifixion of the Saviour, and the Athenian mob which compelled the condemnation of Socrates, he referred to a more recent example: "It was the most brutal and degraded of the English population that assaulted the pure-minded Wesley; and prizefighting, horse-racing, drunken clergymen and justices established their orthodoxy to the satisfaction of their constituency by mobbing or indicting him." Lowell's conception of the duty of the Church to be the moral leader, in advance of public opinion, is illustrated in these words: "The Church should not wait till the Washingtonians have driven it to sign the pledge and pity the drunken. It should not wait till the Abolitionists have convinced it that to sympathize with the slave is more politic than to support the slave owner, before it ventures to lisp the alphabet of emancipation. The glorious privilege of leading the forlorn hope of truth, of facing the waves of prejudice, of making itself vile in the eyes of men by espousing the despised cause of the Master it professes to worship—these belong to the Church by virtue of the position it assumes." Of much recreancy, he takes comfort in "the sustaining news

that God still exists and that he may select even a bruised reed for his instrument." In 1848 he wrote, in his "Ode to France:"

> Since first I heard our North-wind blow,
> I loved thee, Freedom: as a boy
> The rattle of thy shield at Marathon
> Did with a Grecian joy
> Through all my pulses run.

Fredrika Bremer, who visited the Elmwood home in 1849, when Rev. Charles Lowell, father of the poet, retired from long pastoral service, was still the head of the family, thus describes the life there: "The whole family assembles every morning and evening around the venerable old man for prayer; and he it is who blesses every meal. His prayers, which are always extemporaneous, are full of the true inward life; I felt them as a pleasant, refreshing dew upon my head, and seldom arose from my knees with dry eyes. With him live his youngest son, the poet, and his wife; as happy and handsome a young couple as one can imagine." The interest of Mr. Scudder's book lies most in what it gives us of Lowell's ideas on a multiplicity of subjects and occasions. When Norton and Lowell undertook to edit the *North American Review*, the latter said it had lacked loyalty and opinions, and life. To make it loyal and furnish opinions would be easy; the problem would be to give it life. "Perhaps," said Lowell, "the day of the quarterlies is gone by, and those megatheria of letters may be withdrawing to their last swamps to die in peace." When Robert Gould Shaw fell at Fort Wagner Lowell wrote Colonel Shaw's mother, "I would rather have my name known and blest, as his will be, through all the hovels of an outcast race, than blaring from all the trumpets of repute." Lowell sat beside Anthony Trollope at a dinner—"A big, red-faced, rather underbred Englishman; says he goes to work on a novel just like a shoemaker on a shoe, only taking care to make honest stitches; gets up at five every morning, does all his writing before breakfast, and always writes just so many pages a day. Holmes tried to make an impression on him, but it was like pelting a rhinoceros with seed-pearls." Lowell thought Longfellow's translation of Dante's "Divine Comedy" the best at that time because the most accurate: "It is to be looked on, I think, as measured prose—like our version of Job, for example, though without that mastery of measure in which our King James Bible translators are unmatched except by Milton. I mean where they are at their best, as in Job, the songs of Deborah and Barak, the death of Sisera, and some parts of the Psalms." Writing of Michelangelo's sonnets, he says: "In them the airiest pinnacles of sentiment and speculation are buttressed with solid masonwork of thought, and of an actual, not a fancied, experience. . . . You seem to feel the great architect in them. Petrarch's sonnets in comparison are like the sugared frostwork upon cake; he is the artist who can best realize his conception in the limits of a cherry stone."

Lowell inherited from his mother "a drop of black blood" which at times spread itself over the pupil of his eye, as he said, darkening everything, and temporarily inducing a mood of suspicion and distrust. To Leslie Stephen he wrote, "I think our beliefs more a matter of choice than you would be likely to admit." When Aldrich requested an article for the *Atlantic Monthly*, he replied: "If I could, how gladly I would! But I am piecemealed here with so many things to do that I cannot get time to brood over anything as it must be brooded over if it is to have wings. It is as if a setting hen should have to tend the doorbell." At another time he answered the editor's request: "There is no use in trying. Cold molasses is swift as a weaver's shuttle compared with my wits. I have tried every side of the subject like a beetle in a tumbler, and find myself on my back after each attempt." Speaking of Henry George, Lowell distinguishes between a socialism which means the practical application of Christianity to life, and has in it the secret of an orderly and benign reconstruction, and State socialism whose disposition is to cut off the very roots in personal character—self-help, forethought, and frugality—which nourish and sustain the trunk and branches of every vigorous commonwealth. Speaking of doubts and mysteries, he said he was happy in loving God's darkness as well as his light. In all the moods and shiftings of his mind he never moved from certain great fundamental beliefs. He felt that the bedrock of his faith in spiritual realities was a ledge of the Rock of ages. His ultimate expression of trust was like that of a child in the dark. Writing of the last hours of Dr. Wales, he said, "Invisible visitants thronged his chamber with countenances of hope and consolation on which truly the light of Easter morning, of the Resurrection, was shining." Of Izaak Walton he wrote: "Above all he loved the beauty of holiness and those ways of life that make it wholesome for ourselves and our fellows. His view of the world is not of the widest, but it is the Delectable Mountains that bound his prospect."

Early Babylonian History, down to the End of the Fourth Dynasty of Ur: to which is added an account of the E. A. Hoffman collection of Babylonian tablets in the General Theological Seminary, New York, U. S. A. By Rev. HUGO RADAU, A.M., B.D., Ph.D., Mayo Fellow in the General Theological Seminary. Large 8vo. pp. 452. New York: Oxford University Press, American Branch. Price, cloth, $5.

This big and learned volume is a most encouraging proof of the advance of scientific philological study in America. It must be admitted at the outset that Dr. Radau is not American-born, for he was born in Flatow, Germany, and received his education up to what corresponds to the end of our college course in Flatow, Friedland, and Nakel, Germany. His theological and oriental training are, however, American, received in the Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, and the General Theological Seminary and Columbia University, New York. When all due allowance is made for his German birth and for the thoroughness of German academic training in Greek and Latin

(would that our colleges accomplished the like!) it nevertheless deserves emphasis that his Semitic training is American. Twenty years ago, or even a bit less, we all went to Europe for such work. We are getting on and have every reason to be proud of our progress, and not discouraged that even yet the results are less than impatient spirits among us desire to see. We must not sit down contented, but hammer away at boards of trustees until the opportunities are made still greater; and at young men until their ambitions are still higher. Radau will do very well indeed as an example and an incentive to young men who would fain do a piece of genuine work and make the beginnings of a worthy scholastic reputation. His first work was the dissertation presented to the faculty of philosophy of Columbia University, and it is this dissertation which is now expanded into a large volume. In order to avoid any possible mistake on the part of some reader, let us say at the beginning that the title of the book is misleading. It is not a history at all in any proper sense of the word, and the reader who opened it in the expectation of finding in it a narrative story of the early kings and conquerors whose deeds filled early Asia with their renown would be sorely disappointed. There is scarcely any narrative in the book from cover to cover. Furthermore, it is addressed not to readers in general, but to historians and archæologists and Assyriologists. It would be nearly altogether unintelligible to the ordinary reader. It is indeed a most excellent specimen of what the Germans call *Untersuchungen*, and it should have been entitled "Studies in the Sources of Early Babylonian History," or "Contributions to the History of Early Babylonia." These are cumbrous titles, we are well aware, but they are definite and would avoid any misunderstanding. Furthermore, while we are making these observations by way of criticism, let us say something of two other matters. The style of the book is unnecessarily bad. It is crowded with annoying abbreviations which are bad enough in the footnotes but intolerable in the text. To some of these abbreviations all scholars are now so thoroughly accustomed as to endure them uncomplainingly, but the number of them continues to multiply, and a page of Radau's book here and there looks like a series of puzzles of the order known as rebus. We owe a good deal of this nuisance to Professor Haupt, who has shown great ingenuity in devising new forms of abbreviations. The saving of space is considerable, but time is more precious than space, and the time spent in verifying even one unknown abbreviation will make up for much space-saving. In the second place, we must say that in our opinion many of Radau's allusions to the other scholars are in bad taste. He has employed ironical methods in dealing with Lehmann more than once, and Winckler is treated here and there to a sharp reproof followed by one or even two exclamation marks. In some of these cases we believe Radau is right and Lehmann and Winckler wrong, but there is absolutely nothing to be gained by ironical, sarcastic, or flippant forms of argument. If Lehmann's argument is wrong let

as say so quietly and courteously. If Winckler's imagination has overstepped the bounds let us point out what the facts really justify and do it with dignity. Such methods as these would be particularly appropriate in a man so young as Dr. Radau when controverting the conclusions of men who are much older than he. Lehmann and Winckler are distinguished scholars and entitled to respect even when they are wrong. Assyriology has been too long in bad odor with men in other departments of learning because of the constant quarrels over small things on the part of its representatives. Now that we have spoken plainly, though we hope not unkindly, on these matters it is a pleasure to turn again and speak in terms of high approval concerning Dr. Radau's book. He has shown fine industry in the collection, sifting, analysis, and disposition of this great mass of material; and he has shown genuine scholarship in its criticism and explanation. We are not convinced by some of his arguments, but this matters little. Even though his conclusions are wrong he has given the materials on which they are based, with true German thoroughness, and the men who come after him will be able to decide for themselves how far he may be right. Some of his suggestions are quite likely to stand the test of time and criticism, and his judgment in handling the views of others is distinctly sane. We congratulate him on the production of a book creditable alike to him and to his adopted country, and express the hope that some college or university may speedily give him a post where he may teach a little, very little, and go on with his researches in philology and history.

The World before Abraham. By H. G. MITCHELL, Professor in Boston University. Large crown 8vo, pp. 296. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Price, cloth, $1.75 net.

Professor Mitchell gives us in this volume a commentary on Gen. i-xi, to which is prefixed a brief introduction to the Pentateuch. In his preface he expresses the hope that he may in the future publish a commentary on the rest of Genesis. Considering the amount of literature we have at present bearing on the early chapters of Genesis and on the criticism of the Pentateuch, it seems a pity that the author has published this fragment without waiting till he could complete the whole work. It is not long since he gave us a work on only twelve chapters of Isaiah, likewise. In neither instance were we unsupplied with standard literature on the subject. There are traces here and there in the first part of the present volume showing that Dr. Mitchell feels himself in the position of an apologist. Why was it necessary for him to stand so much on the defensive? Page 5, for example, reads too much like controversy, and the same may be said of the illustration and its application on pages 66, 67. The account given of the structure and composition of the Pentateuch is carefully prepared, and its conclusions are those reached by a considerable part of modern biblical scholarship. The various

documents are dated as follows: J *circa* 850 B. C.; E *circa* 800; JE before 639; D apparently in the reign of Manasseh (693-639); JED early in the captivity; P in the first half of the fifth century; the completed Pentateuch before 444, perhaps before 458. This presentation is in harmony with Driver's cautiously expressed view. It also agrees with Moore (article "Historical Literature," *Encyc. Biblica*) in the main, though the latter places the union of JE with D and P in the postexilic period. Dr. Mitchell's characterization of the different documents is skillfully done. Every part of the volume invites careful study. Scholarship and wide reading are found throughout joined to a reverent spirit. We do not find the style easy. In fact, some of the sentences are so German in construction that we find it necessary to recall at times St. James's blessed lesson of patience. The most serious fault to be found with the book, especially in the commentary, is that statements are so frequently supported by subjective reasons, and the author appears to favor authorities whose method is largely subjective (for example, Bacon's works on Genesis and Exodus). To this disposition to consult his own feeling of what the record ought to have said in a given case we may attribute the overfrequent emendation of the Masoretic text. Sometimes, it is true, the emendation is based upon the variant afforded by one of the versions, but even here there is no rule. If the reading of the version suit the author's impression of what is meant, he chooses it; if not, he rejects it. This, it must be admitted, is usually the way with commentators. But when the meaning is not clearly expressed in the Hebrew text Dr. Mitchell all too readily changes the reading or the position of the clause in point. He would have the biblical writer say what the exegete thinks he meant as the exegete himself would express it in Hebrew. This principle applied to some of Dr. Mitchell's own sentences in his book would certainly lead to the rejection of some of his own handiwork. We might say, for example, that he never wrote what we find in a note on page 169: "It is, therefore, probable that the original text had הוּא, *he (was)*, instead of, or חֲנוֹךְ, *Hanokh*, after וַיְהִי, *and was*, and that, when this reading was wittingly or unwittingly changed, the word בֵּן *son*, was inserted to give the whole the desired or supposed import." It is a strange coincidence that the sentence going before this quotation should read, "This, however, is awkward and unlike the author of the passage." See another example, page 265, lines 4-9. In the exegesis Professor Mitchell's method occasionally leads him too far. On pages 228f. he says that the circumstances in connection with Noah's drunkenness imply that "the three sons of Noah were all young, which they cannot have been according to the author of either of the accounts of the flood." Is the implication so clear? Why import contradictions into the record? In the same connection we are told "Shem is here only another name for Israel" (p. 230). That is to say that the biblical writer makes Shem and one whom he presents later as a descendant of Shem to be iden-

tical? Surely not. In the account of the ark the Hebrew *tēbhah* is assumed to mean only "box," and from this it is inferred that probably the biblical writer thought that ships were unknown in the time of the flood. But could he derive any such dimensions as those he gives from any other object than a ship or some sort of a boat known to him? To apply Gen. ix, 27 ("May God enlarge Japheth, yea, let him dwell in the tents of Shem") to Phœnicia, and, in consequence, to deny that Canaan had a special relation in ancient usage to that country, appears to be going against both the Bible and the monuments. On page 9 there is a note to the effect that to write in a (literally, *the*) book means "neither more nor less than to put into writing." But why not write in a book, just as it says? For the sake of general readers the extract from 4 Esdras in the note on page 14 should have been accompanied by some explanation of the distinction between the twenty-four books which Ezra was to publish and the remaining seventy which he was to reserve for the wise of the people. We have noted some misprints: page 42, note, "farther" should be "further;" "Benziger" in several places should be "Benzinger;" page 148, "Yaweh" (*bis*) should be "Yahweh;" page 205, "Jahweh" should be "Yahweh;" page 187, note, "rescensions" should be "recensions." We deem it a fault that in an introduction to the Pentateuch there should be no adequate notice of the books of the covenant, Exod. xx, 22-xxiii, 33, and Exod. xxxiv, 10-26, and of the Decalogue, Exod. xx and Deut. v. There is an admirable topical analysis of the contents of Gen. i-xi, pages 70-72. Apart from the emendations of the text, the translation given pages 73-94 is marked by the hand of the accurate Hebraist.

The Early Church: Its History and Literature. By JAMES ORR, M.A., D.D., Professor of Apologetics and Systematic Theology, United Free Church College, Glasgow. 12mo, pp. 146. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son. [Christian Study Manuals, edited by Rev. R. E. Welch, M. A., Vol. I.] Price, cloth, 60 cents.

This is the second venture of Professor Orr in the field of Church history, and equally successful with his first—*Neglected Factors in the Study of the Early Progress of Christianity* (Armstrong, 1899)—unless we bring in his acute criticism of Ritschlianism—*The Ritschlian Theology and the Evangelical Faith* (Hodder, 1897)—as belonging to historical theology. This little book on the early Church is a worthy companion to Professor Bartlett's *Early Church History* in the "Present Day Primer" series (Religious Tract Society, London; Revell, N. Y., 1894), though the latter begins with the subapostolic age and is fuller and more satisfying. Professor Orr has given an interesting, sound, scholarly, well-proportioned sketch, reflecting the latest knowledge—a book that can be cordially commended as giving the facts at once impartially and attractively. He is correct in rejecting the too close differentiation of bishops and elders as maintained by Harnack and Hatch, and does well to insist upon the identity of those offices in the apostolic age, as well as

upon the spiritual functions (and not simply administrative) of the elders. Sufficient emphasis, however, is not laid upon the sociological importance of their functions as the almoners of the congregation. Hatch is correct in holding that their duties here had great influence upon the development of the bishop's office as distinct from the presbyter's. The author thinks that immersion was the general mode of baptism in the apostolic Church, and expresses doubt as to the existence of infant baptism. As to baptism in the latter part of his period (A. D. 255-324), the author says it was by trine immersion, accompanied by the sign of the cross and other superstitions, and that affusion was practiced in cases of sickness. An excellent treatment is given of the Ignatian episcopacy, and it appears to us that Professor Orr has correctly estimated the factors in that difficult subject. Montanism is looked upon (with Harnack) as a reaction in the interest of apostolic Christianity. The eucharist is a meal, though the author is in error in saying concerning the eucharistic prayers in the *Didache* that, while they do not include the words of institution, these words may be presupposed. So interesting an element of the eucharist would certainly have been mentioned by the *Didache* if it had been a part of the meal. What constituted a meal a Lord's Supper (see 1 Cor. xi, 20, Greek) in apostolic times was the spirit in which it was eaten, not the repetition of a formula.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Time and Chance. By ELBERT HUBBARD. 12mo, pp. 434. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. Price, $1.50.

A romance and a history; the story of the life of a man; the man, John Brown, of Osawatomie; from the little boy in his father's wagon migrating from Torrington, Conn., to the Western Reserve, on through more than half a century to the scarred man standing on the Virginia gallows with a prayer on his lips, and saying, "I am ready." The face of John Brown, as he looked at forty-two, fronts the title-page. It is the face of a Puritan, fine-chiseled, gritty, pure, sweet, dangerous—a face that is carved deep into history. Whether for honor or reviling, it will remain visible through centuries. Governor Wise, of Virginia, studied John Brown searchingly, inquisitorially. After the civil war, when the name of the man of Harper's Ferry was mentioned in Henry A. Wise's presence one day, he said, "John Brown! John Brown was a great man, sir. John Brown was a great man!" In 1879 an ex-Confederate soldier wrote thus to Owen Brown, son of the liberator, John Brown: "I am a South Carolinian. I took part in the war on the Southern side. I have no regrets for my humble share in that struggle. But the war eradicated many errors of opinion, and I have now to say that I firmly believe the war was ordained of God for the extermination of slavery, and that your father was an elected instrument for the commencement of that good work."

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ART. I.—PROPHECY.

THE Old Testament uses three Hebrew words chiefly to describe the prophet and his work: *Nabhi, Chozeh,* and *Roeh.* The root meaning of *nabhi* is "to bubble up," or "well forth." It is used in the passive form to indicate that the prophets were moved or caused to utter their messages by some power other than their own. The New Testament furnishes an example of this passive use of the verb in its statement, "Holy men spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost." In a secondary sense *nabhi* is used to designate the spokesman for another. Thus Aaron was to be the *nabhi,* or spokesman, for Moses; literally, the one whom Moses should cause "to well forth" the leader's opinion. So, later, schools of the prophets were established and the students, picturesquely called the sons of the prophet, were to be the spokesmen of the prophet as he was the spokesman of God. The words *roeh* and *chozeh* are formed from two Hebrew roots which respectively designate seeing and vision. *Roeh* is used in the literal sense, like our word *see,* and seems to belong to the earlier period of Hebrew literature. *Chozeh* is a later and more practical word, with a meaning corresponding more fully to the meaning now attached to our word *vision.* It belongs to the Silver Age of the Hebrew language. From the period when *roeh* was used and its connection with the finding of the asses, in the ninth chapter of First Samuel, we infer that *roeh* indicates a lower stage of Israel's development, when the prophet was regarded more as a fortune teller than as a revealer of God's character. Both *roeh* and

chozeh designate the seer and his visions, *nabhi* indicates rather the message uttered by one under divine inspiration. The Greek words *prophetes* and *propheteia* agree more nearly in meaning with *nabhi,* and mean "to speak forth," or "to speak out." They also soon acquired a secondary significance, and meant to speak for one; to be an interpreter or spokesman of God, or one through whom God speaks. From a study of these words, therefore, we may define prophecy as a discourse uttered by divine inspiration and declaring the purpose of God, whether that purpose be expressed by reproving the wicked and comforting the afflicted or in revealing things hidden and foretelling future events.

Prophecy as Preaching or Teaching.

To limit the prophet's work simply to the foretelling of events withdraws prophecy from the realm of the moral and spiritual, which is the essence of the Bible, and commits it to the heathen and mantic realm. We must ever bear in mind that prophecy is a revelation not only from God, but of God. God does not reveal himself to us simply to satisfy our curiosity, or to awaken our wonder, but to impress upon us his holiness and to make clear to us our duty. The prophet is therefore the preacher and teacher of God's people, and the substance of his message is a declaration of God's holiness and a corresponding demand for righteousness on our part. It is this moral and spiritual element which forms the essence of the Bible and which differentiates that revelation most fully from the so-called sacred literatures of mankind. We do not say that God had no connection whatever with the other sacred literatures. Surely God is the Father of all men and he is interested in all his children. Christians are glad, therefore, to believe that our Father in heaven has impressed his demand for righteousness upon the hearts of heathen peoples so far as they have opened their hearts to him. This is the teaching of Paul in the first chapter of Romans and of John in the statement that Christ is the true light, lighting every man coming into the world. The substance of all this

divine teaching, however, foreshadowed in sacred literature, unfolded forth in the Old Testament revelation and finding its perfect expression in Jesus Christ, is not a communication of the secrets of heaven, not primarily a revelation of future events; it is, first, a revelation of God's holiness and of his love, and, second, a revelation of our sinfulness and need upon the one hand, and of a divine salvation provided for us, upon the other. Prophecy is thus part of revelation and true to the fundamental purpose of the Bible. The prophet is God's messenger, primarily, to the age in which he lives, teaching righteousness and offering mercy, proclaiming the doom of the impenitent and the blessedness of the obedient. A use of the prophecies, therefore, to construct a horoscope of the future seems to us to be an attempt to transform the Bible from God's revelation of his character into a heathen book of fortune telling. It was to check such heathenism and such a perversion of revelation that the Old Testament denounced all visits to wizards and all attempts to communicate with witches in an effort to learn one's future. Some millenarian forecasts would seem to be a repetition of that sin of Israel.

Prophecy and a Spiritual Kingdom.

Another fact must be borne in mind as limiting the literal fulfillment of prophecy: the kingdom of heaven is a spiritual kingdom. The provisions of the Bible would be capable of easy and constant scientific verification were God's dealings with his children as mechanical as are his operations in nature, but the kingdom foretold is spiritual. God, in founding it, deals with free beings and adapts himself to their changing choices. Hence, as the Bible assures us wherever doom is foretold or blessings promised, a change of heart upon the part of men will lead to a corresponding change on God's part. The predictions of the Bible relate to a kingdom which is as obedient to law as is the natural world. "Whatsoever a man sows that shall he also reap" is as true of virtues and vices as of good and bad seed. But the kingdom of heaven operates not on dead matter, which moves only as it is moved

upon and always as it is moved upon. It operates among men and women who move as well as are moved upon, who are capable, by free choices, of changing the currents of existing and of initiating new movements, and who unite with God in constituting the kingdom of heaven. The Bible, therefore, warns us not to look for arbitrary and mechanical fulfillments of predictions irrespective of changes on the part of men. The eighteenth chapter of Ezekiel contains the finest statement of this principle to be found in the Bible:

> The soul that sinneth, it shall die: the son shall not bear the iniquity of the father, neither shall the father bear the iniquity of the son; the righteousness of the righteous shall be upon him, and the wickedness of the wicked shall be upon him. But if the wicked turn from all his sins that he hath committed, and keep all my statutes, and do that which is lawful and right, he shall surely live, he shall not die. None of his transgressions that he hath committed shall be remembered against him: in his righteousness that he hath done he shall live. Have I any pleasure in the death of the wicked? saith the Lord God: and not rather that he should return from his way, and live? But when the righteous turneth away from his righteousness, and committeth iniquity, and doeth according to all the abominations that the wicked man doeth, shall he live? None of his righteous deeds that he hath done shall be remembered: in his trespass that he hath trespassed, and in his sin that he hath sinned, in them shall he die. Yet ye say, The way of the Lord is not equal. Hear now, O house of Israel: Is not my way equal? are not your ways unequal?

Prophecy as Prediction.

Bear in mind the two limitations already mentioned: that the object of prophecy, as of all revelation, is to reveal the character of God and establish his kingdom on earth, not to satisfy human curiosity or foretell divine secrets, and that this kingdom is spiritual, not mechanical; it operates not automatically, but varies with our changing motives. Bear in mind one further consideration: prophecies in the sense of prediction bear the same relation to the present generation that miracles bore to the people before whom Christ worked them. The people of his generation could not see Christianity manifest its divine power by surviving the fall of kingdoms and growing through the centuries. Miracles furnished

the people of Christ's time such sensible proofs of his supernatural claims as warranted them in making a full surrender to him. Hence Jesus said, "Though ye believe not me, believe the works: that ye may know and understand that the Father is in me, and I in the Father." Miracles, therefore, while necessary, were only a means to an end; namely, believing on Christ and receiving eternal life through him. Miracles were appeals to the senses and were deprecated by Christ, who indeed used them, on account of the people's lack of insight into his character, but declared that "an evil and adulterous generation seeketh after a sign," and praised those who had not seen and yet had believed. Prophecies in the sense of prediction sustain the same relation to the present generation that miracles sustained to people at the time of Christ. They, too, are an appeal to material tests, and are needed chiefly by those lacking spiritual insight. The prophecies are embodied in literature, and they find their fulfilment in the unfolding history of the race. Hence they can be studied to-day by people who have little spiritual insight, but who honestly desire light, just as the miracles appealed to a similar class nineteen hundred years ago. Indeed, a prophecy fulfilled is a standing miracle. Thus prophecy serves the lowly purpose of bringing to a knowledge of God those who walk by the senses rather than by faith. But this humble service is a legitimate one, else the Bible, in Deut. xviii, 22, had not appealed to this test of fulfillment as a divine warrant of the messenger; the service is a legitimate one, else Christ had never worked miracles or uttered predictions. Thus the prophecies, like the rest of the Scriptures, are written that we may believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God; and that, believing, we may have life in his name. This brings us clearly to the crucial question of prophecy as prediction. If the prophet announces principles which apply to time as well as eternity, if he foretells a kingdom of righteousness on earth as well as in heaven, and if the mind which inspires the prophet is the mind which governs the universe in its course, then the prophet's forecasts

must find fulfillment in our earthly history; and prophecy thus becomes not simply an enunciation of God's laws for the prophet's own time, but a proclamation of the unfolding of the kingdom in the future. If the principles of righteousness are potent for earth and time, if, indeed, God rules the earth and establishes a real kingdom of righteousness, the divinely commissioned messenger's announcement of that kingdom will constitute prophecy in the sense of prevision.

The candid reader of the Old Testament will find that this literature as a whole is prophetic. It recognizes the inevitable conflict between sin and righteousness and even in Genesis hints at the final triumph of holiness: Satan in the form of a serpent is portrayed as wounding the heel of the seed of the woman, while the seed of the woman shall bruise its head. Again, the Jews were a small and obscure people, scarcely worthy to be named along with such peoples as the Babylonians, Egyptians, Persians, Greeks, and Romans. Nevertheless Abraham heard God telling him, "In thee and in thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed." After centuries of varying and obscure history we again find the promise of a deliverer, this time coming from the tribe of Judah of the people of Israel. Later still he is promised from the house and lineage of David. But the prophecy of redemption and of a redeemer arising from the seed of Abraham is supplemented by the description of a kingdom superior to a merely earthly empire. Indeed the prophecy becomes a strange mingling of human and divine elements:

> For all the armor of the armed man in the tumult, and the garments rolled in blood, shall even be for burning, for fuel of fire. For unto us a child is born, unto us a son is given; and the government shall be upon his shoulder: and his name shall be called Wonderful, Counselor, Mighty God, Everlasting Father, Prince of Peace.

But, while the prophecies as a whole look to the victories of this ideal king and the triumphs of righteousness, there are strange premonitions of suffering culminating in the puzzling prophecy of the fifty-third chapter of Isaiah. This prophecy

speaks not only of suffering, but of conquering, and of conquering by suffering. According to the Jews all suffering was human, conquering was divine. To conquer by suffering was incredible to Jew and Greek and Roman alike; and a God combining these qualities was not known till Jesus revealed the Father.

In brief, therefore, we find in the Old Testament clear predictions (1) of the redemption of the race from sin, (2) of redemption coming through the seed of the woman, (3) of a redemption arising through the Jews, (4) of a redeemer combining in apparently contradictory fashion human and divine attributes, (5) of the final triumph clouded by strange pictures of suffering, and (6) of the victorious redemption of the race finally achieved through death. Students of the Bible will see at a glance how marvelously these six prophetic notes are confirmed in Jesus Christ. It may, indeed, be said that the prophecies of redemption apparently refer at times to an individual and at other times to a holy nation. This seems to us to show a prophetic recognition of one of the profoundest principles of salvation; namely, that it is achieved not by Christ alone, but by the joint action of Christ and the people, whom he makes workers together with him. A truer conception of the joint action of God and man, of the activity of the Holy Spirit working through a sanctified people, will lead future commentators to recognize these passages relating to a holy seed, over which higher critics are stumbling, as a seventh note of Old Testament prophecy. It may also be said that some of the prophecies which are uttered in connection with redemption indicate a triumph of power rather than conquest by suffering. But this again shows that the prophecies lack that mechanical simplicity which belongs to abstract theories, and that they represent the complex realities of life. They contain traces of the imperfections and partial views of the struggling seers. We all know that Jesus recognized the progressive character of the Old Testament and that he modified the Old Testament regulations, as, for instance, Moses's permission of easy divorce. Need we hesi-

tate to apply this principle of a progressive revelation, which Christ enunciated, to the prophetic literature? In the fact that the historical fulfillment of some of the prophecies is at once more spiritual and universal than even the prophet foresaw, have we not a higher proof of the presence of God in history than a mere mechanical fulfillment of certain prophecies can give? Surely we will not distrust our heavenly Father when his fulfillment outruns the promises which some of his early and imperfectly enlightened servants made for him. Future commentators will make the presence of Christ in human history surpassing the vision of some of the prophets the eighth note of prophetic inspiration.

One other question may puzzle the honest student of prophecy: the belief of some commentators that Christ himself was mistaken in regard to the end of the world coming before his generation should pass. If the unfolding history of the race and an increasing insight into the Bible should lead us in the end to the conclusion that Christ had made a single mistake at that one point we should not be seriously disturbed—in view of the fact that he told us positively that "of that day and hour knoweth no man, not even the angels in heaven, neither the Son, but the Father only." Since Christ in this very prophecy calls attention to one limitation assumed by himself during his earthly life and tries in this as in all other passages to humble himself that God may be all in all, should we not praise the love which prompted the humiliation rather than feel troubled over a possible mistake in regard to one of the external details of the prophecy? Such a view only forces us back from the letter which killeth to the spirit which giveth life; from the mantic use of prophecy, to satisfy our curiosity, to those spiritual principles whose triumph all prophecy foretells.

But even this concession does not seem to be necessary. Probably the curtain which hangs over Christ's words in regard to the end of the dispensation of which he was speaking is due to our blindness rather than to his mistake. We have entered so slowly and imperfectly into the dispensation of the

spirit that we still divide the Bible into two parts, the Old and the New Testaments, and we recognize only two dispensations—one of law and the other of grace. May not Christ's prophecies of the end refer to the end of the dispensation then existing and the inauguration of a new dispensation, which actually took place on the Day of Pentecost? Many of the promises regarding the victory of believers over sin are not yet realized by the Christian world. The Church as a whole is yet in the dispensation of the Son rather than of the Spirit. Surely there are new discoveries of power in the Bible to be made by Christians, corresponding to the new discoveries of power made by scientists in nature. When the Church enters the dispensation of the Spirit she may then recognize this third division of the Bible, beginning with the book of Acts, as clearly as she now recognizes the two divisions of Old and New Testaments. She may then recognize a third division of human history, beginning with Pentecost, as clearly as she now recognizes the periods B. C. and A. D. She may then see that the words of Christ in Matt. xxiv are only the prophecies, clothed in Jewish garb, of that dispensation promised by Christ in John xiv-xvii, inclusive, and especially in xvi, 7-11. When the Church thus realizes the power which was promised her in the Bible, which was secured to her by Christ, and which will accompany the presence of the Holy Spirit, she may yet find in the very prediction over which she has stumbled for nineteen hundred years the highest proof of revelation. She may find in these puzzling sayings the prophecy of a kingdom inaugurated on the Day of Pentecost into which the apostles entered in part, which has always been before the Church, but from which we have shut ourselves by a lack of faith and obedience. In that case this prophecy of Christ will furnish the highest proof of revelation, because it reveals a kingdom which has been in existence for nineteen centuries and which the Church is only now beginning to recognize.

Turning again, in conclusion, to prophecies over which there can be no dispute, all candid students of the Old Testa-

ment and of Jewish history recognize an expectation among that people that a Deliverer of the race would arise from that nation. Prophecies relating to the Messiah were uttered and written long before the Septuagint translation was made. They were found either in the original Hebrew, in the Septuagint, or in the Targums, for two centuries before his appearance. They gave his race, tribe, family, portrayed his character, foretold his rejection by the Jews, and proclaimed his final triumph. Skeptics may say, It is impossible for us to sift the claims of Christ and determine whether he fulfilled the Old Testament predictions or not. But it is indisputable that this lowly Jew uttered as striking prophecies in regard to himself as the Old Testament contained. He even dares to connect a prophecy of his death with a claim of universal conquest. "And I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw all men unto myself." He declares that all authority in heaven and on earth is given unto him. He puts himself on an equality with the Father in the baptismal formula. His final words to his disciples are "Go ye therefore, and make disciples of all the nations, baptizing them into the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost: teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I commanded you: and lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world." Suppose, therefore, that Mary and Joseph had been impostors; they were simply Galilean peasants. Worse than this, Jesus, on the supposition that he was not the Son of God, became a party to the greatest moral conspiracy which ever occurred on earth, and uttered blasphemy in the prophecy just quoted. It is indeed possible that the Jew, Jesus, might have been the greatest egotist and the greatest moral conspirator the world has ever known. But to suppose that the bastard child of an ignorant mother should be selected before its birth as the Son of God; to suppose that the child on reaching maturity should join in the fraud and make blasphemous claims upon the worship of his followers; to suppose that his egotism should lead him to utter boasts of his final conquest of the world—and then to suppose that this same child should

have developed a character so pure, so sincere, and so loving as to command the loyalty of his followers even unto death; to suppose that he should have rejected all offers of temporal aid, and have died in ignominy, and then slowly have won, through moral and spiritual forces alone, the fealty and worship of the loftiest minds which our race has produced; and to suppose that this lying egotist should come at the close of nineteen hundred years to the moral leadership of the race—this is to disregard all the laws of causation in the moral universe. But a blasphemous demagogue or the Son of God is the alternative which the student of history must accept. The phenomenon confronts us to-day and demands an explanation. The spiritual kingdom which the Messiah founded has lasted and has continued to increase for nineteen hundred years. It would require larger armies and cost more blood and treasure to overthrow it than to revolutionize all the temporal kingdoms upon earth combined. So far as external tests of the supernatural power of Jesus are concerned, we have stronger proofs before our eyes to-day in the fulfillment of these prophecies than had those who witnessed the stilling of the tempest or the raising of Lazarus from the dead. Surely a Being so marvelously described in a literature extending back fifteen hundred years before his birth; a Being who appeared in such humble circumstances and lived a life so full of purity and goodness, of grace and truth, as to give rise to such a literature as the New Testament, and to produce the greatest reforms on earth; a Being who quietly reiterated the ancient prophecies in regard to his final conquest of the world, and then slowly brought about the fulfillment of these declarations during nineteen hundred years of history—such a Being can be no other than the moral ruler of mankind; and the Book which contains these prophecies must have been inspired by the Mind that rules the world. These prophecies constitute the standing miracle of the centuries.

J. W. Bashford

Art. II.—A CRITICAL DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE OF ALL THE EDITIONS OF THE DISCIPLINE OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN AMERICA FROM 1785 TO 1808.

The Title-pages given in this Catalogue are taken in every case from the Disciplines themselves, and the descriptive and critical remarks are based on familiar use or personal examination of the volumes. Nothing herein contained has been taken at second hand. All of these Disciplines, with an approximately complete set of the later editions, are in my own collection, with the single exception of the Discipline of 1787, for the use of which I am indebted to Mr. Robert T. Miller, of Covington, Ky., an honored member of the Book Committee of the Methodist Episcopal Church, whose father, the Rev. John Miller, M.D., was for many years an itinerant minister in the Kentucky Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, and at one time the pastor of this writer's parents.

All editions of the Discipline from 1785 to 1801, without exception, thirteen volumes in all, bear on their title-pages the words "Methodist Episcopal Church in America" as the proper title of the Church organized in 1784: hence the adoption of that name in the title of this Catalogue. A complete set of the Disciplines of the Methodist Episcopal Church in America from 1785 to 1808 is composed of sixteen volumes, all of which are registered and described in the following pages.

I.

1785.

Minutes Of Several Conversations Between The Rev. Thomas Coke, LL.D. The Rev. Francis Asbury And Others, At a Conference Begun In Baltimore, in the State of Maryland, On Monday, the 27*th* of December, In the Year 1784. Composing a Form of Discipline For the Ministers, Preachers and Other Members of the Methodist Episcopal Church in America. Philadelphia: Printed by Charles Cist, In Arch-Street, the Corner of Fourth-Street. M, DCC, LXXXV.

This First Discipline, though quite rare, is not so scarce as that of 1787 (known to exist in only three copies) or, probably, that of 1788, which it is difficult to secure. It was put to press by Dr. Coke, one of the Presidents of the Christmas Conference, between the 8th and the 19th of January, 1785, immediately on the adjournment of that body, and therefore has the highest historical value for determining what was done at the organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church. It consists of an unbroken series of eighty-one questions and answers. It is bound up with the Sunday Service compiled by Mr. Wesley, and brought over in sheets by Dr. Coke, whose title-page reads as follows: "The Sunday Service of the Methodists in North America. With other Occasional Services. London: Printed in the year MDCCLXXXIV."

The contents of this Sunday Service, as indicated by separate headings, after the tables of proper lessons, are as follows:

(1) The Order for Morning Prayer Every Lord's Day. (Pp. 7-14.)
(2) The Order for Evening Prayer Every Lord's Day. (Pp. 14-19.)
(3) The Litany. (Pp. 20-26.)
(4) A Prayer and Thanksgiving to be used every Lord's Day. (Pp. 26, 27.)
(5) The Collects, Epistles, and Gospels, To be used throughout the year. (Pp. 27-124.)
(6) The Order for the Administration of the Lord's Supper. (Pp. 125-139.)
(7) The Ministration of Baptism of Infants. (Pp. 139-143.)
(8) The Ministration of Baptism to such as are of Riper Years. (Pp. 143-149.)
(9) The Form of Solemnization of Matrimony. (Pp. 149-155.)
(10) The Communion of the Sick. (Pp. 155, 156.)
(11) The Order for the Burial of the Dead. (Pp. 156-161.)
(12) Select Psalms. (Pp. 162-279.)
(13) The Form and Manner of Making and Ordaining of Superintendants, Elders, and Deacons. (Pp. 280-305.)
(a) The Form and Manner of Making of Deacons.
(b) The Form and Manner of Ordaining of Elders.
(c) The Form of Ordaining of a Superintendant.
(14) Articles of Religion (twenty-four in number). (Pp. 306-314.)

These titles are all verbally exact, being taken directly from the book itself. The preface is signed by John Wesley and

dated Bristol, September 9, 1784. Bound up with the Minutes and the Sunday Service is also "A Collection of Psalms and Hymns," whose contents do not here concern us. I have also seen a copy in which the circular letter of Mr. Wesley "To Dr. Coke, Mr. Asbury, and our brethren in North America," is inserted. In such a complete copy the pagination is as follows: Circular letter, iii; Sunday Service, 314; "Minutes" or "Form of Discipline," 35; Psalms and Hymns, 104; Contents, 4 pages.

II.

1786.

The General Minutes of the Conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church in America, forming the Constitution of the said Church.

These General Minutes fill pages 322-355 of a volume usually known as the second edition of the Sunday Service. There is no distinct title-page for the Minutes constituting the Discipline, or "forming the Constitution" of the Church; the title cited above is simply a general heading at the top of page 322. The title-page of the Sunday Service which includes this Discipline is as follows: "The Sunday Service of the Methodists In the United-States of America. With other Occasional Services. London: Printed by Frys and Couchman, Worship-Street Upper-Moorfields, 1786."

This Sunday Service contains Twenty-five Articles of Religion: it has usually been assumed that the XXIIId Article, on civil government, was added by the Christmas Conference. But no evidence has been found to support this conjecture. It is more probable that the Article was added by Mr. Wesley himself, (1) because he formulated the Twenty-four sent over by Dr. Coke; (2) because the second Sunday Service, like the first, was printed in England; and (3) because, *chiefly*, copies of the Sunday Service exist in which the XXIIId Article differs wholly from the same Article in the American book, being adapted to a Church organized under the British government. There is added to the book the same "Collection of Psalms and Hymns" with date "MDCC LXXXVI." The

pagination of a complete book is Sunday Service and General Minutes, 355; Psalms and Hymns, 104; Contents, 4 pages.

III.

1787.

A Form of Discipline, For the Ministers, Preachers, and Members of the Methodist Episcopal Church in America. Considered and approved at a Conference Held at Baltimore, in the State of Maryland, On Monday the 27th of December, 1784: In Which The Reverend Thomas Coke, LL.D. and the Reverend Francis Asbury, presided. Arranged under proper Heads, and Methodized in a more acceptable and easy Manner. New York: Printed by W. Ross, in Broad-Street. M. DCC. LXXXVII.

This is the rarest of all the Disciplines. Only three known copies exist. One is in the library of Drew Theological Seminary; another is in the library of Randolph-Macon College; a third is in the possession of Mr. Robert T. Miller. It is a pamphlet of 44 pages, with an Index of 3 pages, and was arranged by Bishop Asbury and John Dickins. Its scarcity arises from the fact that it was published in pamphlet form: all other Disciplines were published as bound volumes. It might be called the "Bishops' Discipline," as in it the "Superintendents" were first called "Bishops." Its publication occasioned some excitement throughout the "Connection," as the change, though subsequently confirmed by the Conference, had not been authorized by that body. It has been three times reprinted, (1) by the Rev. C. S. Nutter, who has also reprinted the Disciplines of 1785, 1786, 1788, and 1789; (2) by W. A. Ingham, of Cleveland, O.; and, (3) in fifty numbered copies, by Mr. W. B. Ketcham, of New York. I have all three reprints: Ketcham's No. 47 I have corrected throughout with my own hand, conforming it to every peculiarity of Mr. Miller's original. It has, therefore, for all real use, the value of a fourth copy. I find I have made corrections, mostly insignificant, on every page except one—page 29. This Discipline is divided into thirty-one sections, the titles of which are taken from Mr. Miller's copy as follows:

Section I.

Of the Rise of Methodism (so called) in Europe and America. Page 3.

Section II.

On the Method of holding a Conference, and the Business to be done therein. Page 4.

Section III.

On the Nature and Constitution of our Church. Page 5.

Section IV.

On the constituting of Bishops, and their Duty. Page 6.

Section V.

On the constituting of Elders, and their Duty. Page 7.

Section VI.

On the constituting of Deacons, and their Duty. Page 8.

Section VII.

On the Method of receiving Preachers, and their Duty. Page 11.

Section VIII.

Of the Collections that are made, and how the Money is to be expended. Page 15.

Section IX.

On Class-Meetings. Page 16.

Section X.

On the Duty of Preachers, to God, themselves and one another. Page 17.

Section XI.

On the Necessity of Union among ourselves. Page 20.

Section XII.

Of the Trial of those who think they are moved by the Holy Ghost to preach. Page 21.

Section XIII.

Of the Spirit and Truth of Singing. Page 22.

Section XIV.

Rules by which we should continue, or desist from, Preaching at any Place. Page 23.

Section XV.

On the Matter and Manner of Preaching, and other Public Exercises. Page 23.

Section XVI.

Against Antinomianism. Page 24.

Section XVII.

How to provide for the Circuits in the Time of Conference, and to preserve and increase the Work of God. Page 26.

Section XVIII.

Of employing our Time profitably, when we are not traveling, or not engaged in Public Exercises. Page 27.

Section XIX.

On Baptism. Page 28.

Section XX.

On the Lord's Supper. Page 29.

Section XXI.

On unlawful Marriages. Page 29.

Section XXII.

On Perfection. Page 30.

Section XXIII.

On Dress. Page 31.

Section XXIV.

On the Privileges granted to serious Persons that are not of the Society. Page 32.

Section XXV.

On visiting from House to House; guarding against those Sins that are so common to Professors, and inforcing Practical Religion. Page 32.

Section XXVI.

On the Instruction of Children. Page 38.

Section XXVII.

On Building Churches, and on the Order to be observed therein. Page 39.

Section XXVIII.

On raising a general Fund for the Propagation of the Gospel. Page 40.

Section XXIX.

Of the Method of raising a Fund for the Superannuated Preachers, and the Widows and Orphans of Preachers. Page 42.

Section XXX.

Concerning Cokesbury College. Page 43.

Section XXXI.

On the Printing of Books, and the Application of the Profits arising therefrom. Page 44.

IV.

1788.

A Form of Discipline, For the Ministers, Preachers, and Members of the Methodist Episcopal Church in America. Considered and approved at a Conference Held at Baltimore, in the State of Maryland. On Monday the 27th of December, 1784: In Which The Reverend Thomas Coke, LL.D. and the Reverend Francis Asbury, presided. Arranged under proper Heads, and methodised in a more acceptable and easy Manner. With some other useful Pieces annexed. Elizabeth-Town: Printed by Shepard Kollock. M. DCC. LXXXVIII.

The "useful pieces annexed" are the General Rules (nineteenth edition, signed by Coke and Asbury, and dated May 28, 1787), the Articles of Religion, "An Address to the Friends and Annual Subscribers to the support of Cokesbury-College," "The Scripture Doctrine of Predestination, Election, and Reprobation," and "Serious Thoughts on the In-

fallible, Unconditional, Perseverance of all that have once experienced Faith in Christ." All except the last have separate title-pages, with publisher and date as recited above. It is divided into thirty-four Sections, with an Index of three pages. A complete copy has 117 pages, exclusive of the Index.

V.

1789.

A Form of Discipline, For the Ministers, Preachers, and Members of the Methodist Episcopal Church in America, Considered and approved at a Conference Held at Baltimore, in the State of Maryland, on Monday the 27th of December, 1784: In Which Thomas Coke, and Francis Asbury, Presided: Arranged under proper Heads, and methodised in a more acceptable and easy Manner: With some other useful Pieces annexed. The Fifth Edition. New-York: Printed by William Ross, in Broad-Street, M. DCC. LXXXIX.

The "useful pieces annexed" are the Articles of Religion, and the "Scripture Doctrine of Predestination," etc., with separate title-pages, on which publisher and date are as given above; and, with distinct headings but no title-pages, "Serious Thoughts," etc., and "A Plain Account of Christian Perfection, as believed and taught by the Rev. Mr. John Wesley, From the year 1725, to the year 1765."

There are thirty-five Sections, Section XXXV. being the General Rules. The first Episcopal Address, in the form of a Preface to the Discipline, appears in this edition. It is signed by Thomas Coke and Francis Asbury and dated "Charles-Town [Charleston, S. C.], *March* 20, 1789. The pagination is as follows: Address, iv; Discipline, 50; Index, 5; Useful Pieces, 131: a complete copy should therefore contain 190 pages.

VI.

1790.

A Form of Discipline, For the Ministers, Preachers and Members (now comprehending the Principles and Doctrines) of the Methodist Episcopal Church in America, Considered and approved at a Conference Held at Baltimore, in the State of Maryland, on Monday the 27th of December, 1784: In Which Thomas Coke, and Francis Asbury, Presided: Arranged under proper Heads, and methodised in a more acceptable and easy Manner. The Sixth Edition. Philadel-

phia: Printed by R. Aitken & Son, No. 22. Market Street, and sold by John Dickins, No. 43. Fourth Street. M. DCC. XC.

The principal new feature of this title-page—"now comprehending the Principles and Doctrines"—marks the transformation of the "useful pieces annexed" into sections of the Discipline itself: Section XXXV. is the Articles of Religion; Section XXXVI. "Scripture Doctrine of Predestination," etc.; Section XXXVII. "Serious Thoughts," etc.; Section XXXVIII. "A Plain Account of Christian Perfection;" and Section XXXIX. "An Extract on the Nature and Subjects of Christian Baptism:" this last Section has a separate title-page.

This Discipline is composed of thirty-nine Sections, and the pagination is as follows: To the close of the Address, iv; the Discipline, 256, including the Contents of 4 pages.

VII.

1791.

A Form of Discipline, For The Ministers, Preachers, and Members (now comprehending the Principles and Doctrines) of the Methodist Episcopal Church in America, Considered and approved at a Conference Held at Baltimore, in the State of Maryland, on Monday, the 27th of December, 1784: In Which Thomas Coke, and Francis Asbury, Presided: Arranged under proper Heads, and Methodised in a more acceptable and easy Manner. The Seventh Edition. Philadelphia: Printed By Joseph Crukshank, No. 91, High-Street; And Sold By John Dickins, No. 43, Fourth-Street, Near the Corner of Race-Street. MDCCXCI.

In this Discipline the General Rules constitute Section XXXV.; the Articles of Religion, Section XXXVI.; the "Scripture Doctrine of Predestination," etc., Section XXXVII.; the "Serious Thoughts," etc., Section XXXVIII.; the "Plain Account of Christian Perfection," Section XXXIX.; and "An Extract on the Nature and Subjects of Christian Baptism," Section XL.—the same doctrinal sections being continued, as in the Discipline of 1790. The entire number of Sections is forty, and the pagination is iv, [illegible], including Contents of 4 pages.

VIII.

1792.

The Doctrines and Discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church in America, Revised and Approved at the General Conference Held at Baltimore, in the State of Maryland, in November, 1792: In Which Thomas Coke, and Francis Asbury, Presided: Arranged under proper Heads, and methodised in a more acceptable and easy Manner. The Eighth Edition. Philadelphia: Printed by Parry Hall, No. 149, Chesnut Street, And Sold by John Dickins, No. 182, Race Street, Between Fifth and Sixth Street. M. DCC. XCII.

Here for the first time the title "Doctrines and Discipline," which has continued in use to the present day, and approval by a body styled "the General Conference," meet us. From the evolution of the title and of the book itself, as noticed in the preceding pages, it is evident that the word "Doctrines" when it first appeared on the title-page of the Discipline referred to the doctrinal sections incorporated in the book itself. Thus in the Discipline of 1792 the Articles of Religion are brought forward to the position of Chapter I., Section II.; Chapter III., Section IV. is "Of Christian Perfection;" Section V. "Against Antinomianism;" Section VI. "Scripture Doctrine of Predestination," etc.; Section VII. "Serious Thoughts on the infallible, unconditional Perseverance," etc.; Section VIII. "A Plain Account of Christian Perfection," etc.; and Section IX. "An Extract on the Nature and Subjects of Christian Baptism." Section X. is headed "Sacramental Services," etc., and contains the offices for the administration of the sacraments, for the ordination of deacons, elders, and bishops, for the solemnization of matrimony, and for the burial of the dead. Thus these three Disciplines, 1790, 1791, and 1792, completely incorporated sections on doctrine in their contents, and this fact was acknowledged on their title-pages. But this is not the connection in which to pursue further the implications of these facts as they bear on the phrase "present existing and established standards of doctrine," as it occurs in the first Restrictive Rule of 1808. This Discipline was the first to be divided into Chapters. Chapter I. contains twenty-six Sections:

Chapter II. has eight; and Chapter III. has ten. The pagination is iv, 264, to which must be added 4 pages for Contents. The complete book makes 272 pages.

IX.

1797.

The Doctrines and Discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church in America, Revised and Approved at the General Conference Held at Baltimore, in the State of Maryland, in November, 1792; in Which Thomas Coke and Francis Asbury Presided: To Which Are Added, the Minutes of the General Conference Held at Baltimore, October 20th, 1796. The Ninth Edition. Philadelphia: Printed by Henry Tuckniss, And Sold by John Dickins, No. 50, North Second Street, near Arch Street. 1797.

This Discipline does not conform exactly to the description of its title-page, which would lead one to expect a literal reproduction of the Discipline of 1792, with the addition of the Minutes of the General Conference of 1796. All the matter has been freshly set up in another printing office. The Discipline of 1792 has been closely followed through Chapters I. and II., with the same Sections and headings throughout, and through the first two Sections of Chapter III., with some alterations. The Minutes of the General Conference of 1796 are then abruptly introduced at page 59 under the following heading:

"Minutes of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Begun at Baltimore, on the 20th of October, 1796, at which Thomas Coke and Francis Asbury presided."

These Minutes continue through page 81, when the Discipline resumes with Section III. of Chapter III., this being, however, "Of Christian Perfection," the old Section of 1792, on Cokesbury College, having been omitted. Later, Section X of 1792, on Baptism, is omitted, so that Chapter III. of 1797 has two sections less than the same Chapter in 1792, namely, VIII. instead of X. The Minutes of 1796 are evidently introduced on pages 59-81 to bring them into immediate connection with the disciplinary matter proper, all the preceding sections being the Doctrinal Tracts and the "Sac-

ramental Services." All of the doctrinal tracts and sections are continued as in 1792, except that the "Extract on the Nature and Subjects of Christian Baptism" is omitted. I have also a copy of this Discipline in which the Minutes of the General Conference of 1800 follow the Contents: an account of it will be given under the editions of 1800.

Pagination: iv; 5—208; Contents, 4 pages.

X.

1798.

The Doctrines and Discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church, in America. With Explanatory Notes, By Thomas Coke and Francis Asbury. The Tenth Edition. Philadelphia: Printed by Henry Tuckniss, Sold by John Dickins, No. 41, Market-Street, Between Front and Second-streets, and by the Methodist Ministers and Preachers throughout the United States. 1798.

This is the famous edition of our Discipline, containing the "Notes" of Bishops Coke and Asbury, which are appended to each Section and so incorporated with the body of the book. The Discipline seems to reproduce that of 1797, except that Chapters I. and II. have each two new Sections; while Chapter III. adds a Section on "The Plan of Education recommended to all our Seminaries of Learning," and omits Sections V., VI., VII., and VIII. of the preceding edition, composed of Doctrinal Tracts and "Sacramental Services," which were obviously taken out of this edition lest, with the bishops' "Notes," the volume should become too bulky. All of them were subsequently restored. In this edition, also, the "District Conferences" become "Yearly Conferences," both bodies corresponding to the present "Annual Conferences." The Bishops indicate the authority for the "Notes" in an "Advertisement to the Reader," dated 1797, as follows: "The last General Conference desired the Bishops to draw up Annotations on the Form of Discipline, and to publish them with the present edition:—The Bishops have accordingly complied, and have proved or illustrated everything by quotations from the Word of God, agreeably, also, to the advice of the Conference; and

they sincerely pray that their labor of love may be made a blessing to many."

The pagination is iv, 187; with 3 pages to add for Contents.

XI.

1800.

The title-page exactly reproduces that of 1797, including date. There is added, after the table of Contents, a form of 16 pages with the following title-page:

Minutes of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Begun in Baltimore on the Sixth, and Continued till the Twentieth, of May, One Thousand Eight Hundred. At Which Thomas Coke and Francis Asbury Presided. Philadelphia: Printed by Henry Tuckniss, For Ezekiel Cooper, No. 118, North Fourth-Street, Near the Methodist-Church. 1800.

The volume, with the exception noted, is throughout an exact reproduction of the Discipline of 1797, being printed from the same type or plates. On the back of the title-page of the "Minutes of the General Conference" is the following explanatory "NOTE. By comparing these Minutes with the Discipline you will discover what additions or alterations have been made by the late General Conference—consequently it is unnecessary to publish a new edition of the Discipline, until the edition now on hand is sold. Those who have the Discipline may procure these Minutes, and others may get them both together."

XII.

1800.

The title-page exactly reproduces that of 1798, including date. There is added before the table of Contents, the same Minutes of the General Conference of 1800 noted above, with the same title-page and explanatory Note. The volume, with this exception, is throughout an exact reproduction of the Discipline of 1798, being printed from the same type or plates. These two editions of 1800, being the editions of 1797 and 1798 respectively, with the addition of the Minutes of the General Conference of 1800, are not numbered on their title pages, it will be noticed, as distinct editions, it

doubtless having been found convenient and economical, as indicated in the explanatory note, to reproduce these without change. But they are about as well entitled to be recognized as members of the series as the Discipline of 1797, which, under similar circumstances, is numbered on its title-page as a distinct edition.

XIII.

1801.

The Doctrines and Discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church, in America. The Eleventh Edition. Philadelphia: Printed by Solomon W. Conrad, No. 22, Pewter-Platter Alley, for Ezekiel Cooper, No. 118, North Fourth-Street, near the Methodist Church. 1801.

This edition restores all the Doctrinal Tracts omitted in 1798, and they are continued in the editions of 1804 and 1805, which the members of the General Conference of 1808 had in their hands when they framed the Constitution with the first Restrictive Rule containing the language "our present existing and established standards of doctrine." But for another line of evidence, which I elsewhere consider, this might be regarded as decisive of the meaning of the Rule. I know of no evidence which enables us to choose with certainty and finality between the only two *definite* interpretations which can be given to the Rule. (See Chapter IX. of the forthcoming revised edition of my "Constitutional History of American Episcopal Methodism.")

The pagination of this edition is iv, 5—204, with 4 pages added for Contents and an advertisement of Book Concern publications.

XIV.

1804.

The Doctrines and Discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church. The Twelfth Edition. New York: Printed by T. Kirk, No. 48, Maiden-Lane, For the Methodist Society, and Sold by E. Cooper, and J. Wilson, at the Book Room. 1804.

It is unnecessary to give detailed descriptions of these later and not very rare editions. The Doctrinal Tracts and Sections as noticed above, are continued in this and the following

edition, and also in that of 1808, in which the language "present existing and established standards of doctrine" first appeared. There are 216 pages with four added for Contents.

XV.

1805.

The Doctrines and Discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church. The Thirteenth Edition. New York, Published by Ezekiel Cooper & John Wilson, For The Methodist Connection. W. C. Robinson, Printer. 1805.

This edition, though freshly set up and printed, appears to be an exact reproduction, page for page, of the preceding, and, though numbered as a separate edition, has little or no ground for being so regarded.

XVI.

1808.

The Doctrines and Discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church. The Fourteenth Edition. New-York: Published by John Wilson and Daniel Hitt, For the Methodist Connection. J. C. Totten, Printer. 1808.

This Discipline contains the "Constitution" of the Delegated General Conference, and thus ends the primitive series. Its character and contents are sufficiently well known. It contains 211 pages, with an additional four for the Contents.

All of the preceding Disciplines measure $5\frac{3}{4}$ by 3 inches: from 1812, until a quite recent date, the book was much smaller.

Jno. J Tigert.

Art. III.—WORDSWORTH—AN INTRODUCTION.

There can be no question that chronologically Wordsworth stands fifth in the succession of great English poets. As to his relative rank, in the matter of inspiration and true poetic power, among the five (or among the seven, with Browning and Tennyson added), there is more debate. Sir Henry Taylor, himself no inconsiderable poet, together with many others, would put him second to none except Shakespeare, accounting him to have a greater range of thought and a vaster sympathy than any but this unchallenged master. The larger number of judges, however, assign to Milton the second place and give Wordsworth third. But, whatever his comparative position, no one familiar with the facts has any doubts concerning the very great importance of his contribution to the choicest literature of all time and the very large benefit to be derived from a careful study of his works.

The trouble is that only a few, in spite of all that has been written, seem to be familiar with the facts. Those facts, to be sure, are quite easily accessible, but this is not enough. They need to be brought forward afresh every little while and thrust upon the thought of such as would otherwise pass them by. Each new generation has quite a number who ought to be introduced to Wordsworth, shown what it is he can do for them, and prevented from missing the very decided addition to their lives, in powers enlarged and genuine enjoyment increased, which would come from a thorough acquaintance. The Wordsworth Society was instituted at Grasmere, England, in 1880 to do this. It existed for seven years, did excellent service, and was then disbanded. But much more of the same sort of work yet remains to be done. Although the fame of Wordsworth is continually and steadily widening, although a larger proportion of each generation is being fitted to appreciate him, he has not by any means obtained his full deserts down to the present day. His merits ought still more completely to be made known, and everybody who has come

to be numbered among his debtors feels under obligation to do what little he may to extend the sweep of his most beneficent influence.

Much depends on the way such an undertaking is attacked. The outcome will often be favorable or the contrary according to the wisdom used in the outset. It is not well to attempt too much at once, or to go at the matter in a haphazard fashion. After reading this article and some fuller introduction, like the excellent life of Wordsworth by Mr. F. W. H. Myers in John Morley's "English Men of Letters," or the still briefer essay by Mr. Morley himself, prefacing the admirable one-volume edition of Wordsworth's complete poetical works published at a small price by the Macmillan Company, then it would be well, we think, for the neophyte to read several times some of the best of the simpler and shorter poems, composed between 1798 and 1808, during which marvelous ten years the poet's powers were at their highest pitch and nearly all was produced that can be accounted of supremest excellence in his writings. The following, among others, may be mentioned with unqualified approval: "The Solitary Reaper," "A Poet's Epitaph," "The Fountain," "Stepping Westward," "To a Highland Girl," "Rob Roy's Grave," "To a Skylark," "She Dwelt among the Untrodden Ways," "Three Years She Grew in Sun and Shower," "To my Sister," "Lines Written in Early Spring," "Expostulation and Reply," "The Tables Turned," "Resolution and Independence," "She was a Phantom of Delight," "My Heart Leaps Up when I Behold," "I Wandered Lonely as a Cloud," "To a Young Lady," "Loud is the Vale," "Song at the Feast of Brougham Castle."

He who has read these twenty short poems, and then read them again, taking some time about it, and letting their beautiful thoughts and sentiments sink well into the mind, might profitably attempt next a score or two of the sonnets. Wordsworth was a master in this field, has been called, indeed, the greatest sonneteer in the language. Certainly no one but Shakespeare and Milton can be brought at all into comparison

with him at this point. For compactness, directness, and lucidity some of these charming compositions are unsurpassed. He wrote over five hundred of them, turning to this artificial and intricate structure as a kind of refuge from himself, from that proneness to run on indefinitely and diffusely which is one of his main faults; in a sonnet he was obliged to come to a halt at the end of the fourteenth line. No less than 132 are ecclesiastical, 69 are consecrated to Liberty, and most of the other 300 are about places. They are very far from being uniform in quality, or even regular always in technical structure, but some are certainly gems of the first water. They are the supreme creation of the autumn of his life and reflect the hues of that period. Best known of all probably is the one beginning,

> The world is too much with us; late and soon,
> Getting and spending, we lay waste our powers:
> Little we see in nature that is ours;
> We have given our hearts away, a sordid boon!

The one to the Supreme Being is also very fine; and among those to Freedom many have been highly and justly praised.

Standing higher than the sonnets, and higher than anything we have yet mentioned, are the four poems which mark the summit of Wordsworth's genius, and which the reader may now suitably set himself to master. The first of these is entitled "Lines composed a few miles above Tintern Abbey on revisiting the banks of the Wye during a tour, July 13, 1798." It was published almost immediately at Bristol in the first volume of *Lyrical Ballads,* the earliest serious venture of the poet, a book received by the critics with such withering scorn as might well have prevented any further effort by one with a less resolute faith in himself and in the validity of his high calling. But "Tintern Abbey," to say nothing of the other pieces of merit in the volume, has come to be recognized as almost a consecrated formulary of the Wordsworthian faith, as saying in brief what many chapters have been written to say in detail.

The second of these four great poems, written in 1805,

is the "Ode to Duty." President A. H. Strong calls it "the most noble and complete of his poems." Professor N. H. Hudson says, "As a whole, superior to anything else he wrote, simply perfect both as to poetry and as to its moral scope and tone." Lowell says that in this ode "he speaks to us out of an ampler ether than in any other of his poems; it may safely challenge insolent Greece and haughty Rome for a comparison either in kind or degree." This praise seems to us not a whit too strong. We know of nothing to surpass the sustained moral grandeur and impassioned power with which, like some old Israelite prophet, it calls man to dedicate himself to the noblest that he knows, to become, "in the light of truth made lowly wise," dowered with the spirit of reason and self-sacrifice, bondman to this "stern daughter of the voice of God," stern, yet wearing "the Godhead's most benignant grace," and full of smiles and flowers and fragrance.

Next in order, composed in 1806, comes the "Character of the Happy Warrior." It was called out in part by the death of Nelson, in part by the death of the poet's dearly loved brother, John, a gallant commander of an East Indiaman, who went down grandly with his ship the previous year, only a few months from the date of the great admiral's victory in Trafalgar Bay. The poem commemorates them both, and is also thought to draw something of its inspiration from Virgil's famous hero. It is well worthy of the three themes, in itself "a manual of greatness and of national honor," it has been said, a summary of patriotism, a portrait of English character at its best. The thrilling lines are charged to the full with heroic feeling and with high, unconquerable resolve. He who takes it for a guide of conduct will surely stoop to nothing base, "nor lie in wait for worldly state;" will face death itself rather than parley with dishonor; will care for no reward save that which comes from work well done; will "make his moral being his prime care;" will "turn his necessity to glorious gain;" will find his law in reason and "depend upon it as on the best of friends;" will be one

> Who if he be called upon to face
> Some awful moment to which heaven has joined
> Great issues, good or bad for human kind,
> Is happy as a Lover; and attired
> With sudden brightness, like a Man inspired.

Composed not far from the same time, and holding in general estimation higher rank, is the world-famous "Ode on the Intimations of Immortality from Recollections of Early Childhood." Lord Houghton has styled it "the greatest poem in the language." R. W. Emerson terms it "the high-water mark of English thought in the nineteenth century." If we take the poem as simply embodying a recognition of the divine origin of the human soul and a declaration that what comes from God will not be suffered to perish in a day, it will perhaps be as far as we are authorized to go in the argument, although more than this certainly appears to be intimated in the lines. True it is that if man be an actual emanation from God himself he may be considered as having a substantial preexistence in God's being, and God's ideas, those of the Infinite Presence from which we come—though dreamlike and visionary, hardly more than "obstinate questionings of sense and outward things, fallings from us, vanishings, shadowy recollections"—thus reveal themselves in him; reveal themselves the more clearly while he is yet far from the years that "bring the inevitable yoke," while yet the soul has not "her earthly freight, and custom lies not on her with a weight heavy as frost and deep almost as life," which weight makes the vision splendid, whereby the youth "is on his way attended," "fade into the light of common day." The "Ode on Immortality" is enough in itself, if nothing else had been written, to set Wordsworth in a very high rank among the great poets.

Of the longer poems the two most extensive and important, the only ones that need be mentioned here, are the "Prelude" (some 8,000 lines) and the "Excursion" (about 9,000). The former was written in the years 1799-1805, but was not published till 1850, just after the poet's death. It is an elaborate account, in fourteen books, of the growth of his own mind

from earliest childhood up to the time when the poem was finished, in his thirty-fifth year. In it we are let into the very secrets of the process of a wonderful formation, and our eyes are opened to the way in which God prepared this chosen servant for his mission among men. We perceive how in his first years he was led to the love of rivers, woods, and fields; how "the calm that nature breeds among the hills and groves" and "that still spirit shed from evening air" took possession of him; how the "Presences of Nature in the sky and on the earth" and "the Souls of lonely places" wrought their will with him; how he "held unconscious intercourse with beauty old as creation, drinking in a pure organic pleasure from the wreaths of curling mist, or from the level plain of waters colored by impending clouds," "the earth and common face of nature spake to him rememberable things;" the sky sank down into his heart and held him like a dream; thus were his sympathies enlarged, and daily thus the common range of visible things grew dearer to him; he learned to love the sun as it laid its beauty on the morning hills and touched the western mountain at its setting; as he walked alone under the quiet stars or sat among the woods upon some jutting eminence he felt marvelous emotions, the seasons whispered their secrets in his ear, his thoughts were steeped in feeling, and he walked with nature in a spirit of religious love, an assiduous minister in her temple, serving with purest passion; the mountains fed his lofty speculations and a never-failing principle of joy sprang up within him, driving away "little enmities and low desires."

The "Excursion" has been called the finest poem of the nineteenth century, but this is not the general verdict. Some, indeed, have termed it a huge failure. But this it certainly is not. The right estimate lies between these extremes. It is too profound and meditative and introspective for most readers; "as grave and dull as a sermon" they term it. There is almost no action in it. The Wanderer, a retired pack peddler of pious mind, who represents what Wordsworth thinks he might himself have become under some circumstances

and who voices the poet's own sentiments, is the hero. He makes a little excursion, meets a few people, and talks with them about nature and human destiny. That is the whole story. Parts of it no doubt are somewhat prosy, the movement is slow, there is no excitement. Yet glorious poetry is here, keen insight into life, touching incidents of human experience, lovely descriptions of natural scenery, and not a little profound philosophy. At the second reading one thinks much more of it than at the first, and at the third one's estimate rises higher yet. It is dedicated to Coleridge, his most intimate friend and sympathetic companion. The teaching it embodies—for it is didactic rather than epic—is of permanent value, and some of the poet's highest flights are here embalmed. In book iv, especially, the instruction of the Solitary by the Wanderer regarding the ways of Providence and the address to God are in the very noblest vein. Well known is the passage in the same book beginning,

> I have seen
> A curious child who dwelt upon a tract
> Of inland ground, applying to his ear
> The convolutions of a smooth-lipped shell.

In "The Churchyard among the Mountains," book vi, as the pastor tells the history of those buried there, opportunity is given for many gems of portraiture and affecting reflections. In the closing book occurs a grand description of old age and its privileges, a magnificent sunset is fitly pictured, a sublime prayer is offered by the pastor, and among other lovely images we find the one, often quoted, which begins,

> The primal duties shine aloft—like stars;
> The charities that soothe, and heal, and bless,
> Are scattered at the feet of Man—like flowers.

No one who wishes to be familiar with all the great poems can afford to miss the "Excursion."

Wordsworth has been well described as Priest of Nature and Prophet of Man. Nature was to him pulsating with divine life, full of God rejoicing in his works. He clearly perceived the divine mind immanent and operating literally in all the

forces and energies of nature, thus making it literally alive and throbbing in every part with God. His whole being as a poet rejected the cold, dead, mechanical theory of the universe. He perceived also the kinship between nature and man by reason of their common origin and life in the Creator, and thus he brings the two into closest affinity and attraction; man and nature, in his view, differed very much as man and woman differed for the purpose of union. So intense and sympathetic was the gaze with which he looked on outward things, so clear and penetrating his vision, that he saw what had hitherto been hidden, but what he felt it was his God-given mission to teach others to behold. He had a new and peculiar gift which enabled him to bring forth from this bewildering universe a new and most elevating joy for the comfort of man. He approached nature from within rather than from without, bringing to her so delicate a homage, identifying himself so completely with her subtlest aspects and profoundest meanings, that he could stand as her divinely commissioned interpreter to men. She was to him a palimpsest, written over with superficial characters concealing an inner message, a mystic text to be deciphered, not a stimulus to roving imaginations or an open page to be catechetically described. "Nature," he said, "does not permit an inventory to be made of her charms." His method was to walk about with a reverent attention to all that surrounded him, taking it into his heart; then, after a time, interrogating his mind, he found that what was accidental had been discarded while the ideal and essential truth of the scene had been preserved. This it was, in his opinion, to have a true eye for nature. It was not the external form that he cared for so much as the message that underlay it. It was a maxim with him that the poet's proper business is to idealize the real rather than to realize the ideal. He held that nature had an independent message of her own, most wholesome and most helpful, to convey to us, and it was his business to be the mediator of this message rather than to simply find a reflection of his own thoughts and pas-

sions in that which was without. Thus Nature spoke to him as to no one else, and showed him her inmost heart. There was always to him something fresh and new, mysterious and romantic, about nature. He was always going on his first journey. He touched the fields and woods with an enchanter's wand and found witchery in them. He conveyed to his readers permanently the pleasure and the grace of spring. In the words of Mr. Myers, "Wordsworth is venerated because to so many men he has shown by the subtle intensity of his own emotion how the contemplation of nature can be made a revealing agency like Love or Prayer, an opening into the transcendent world."

The second thing which stands out most distinctly in Wordsworth's poetry is his dignifying and beautifying of the commonplace. He was the first in England to throw around the lives of ordinary men the glory and the sweetness of song. He built "a princely throne on humble truth." He was devoted to poverty and peasanthood. He had a sympathy for the lowly almost unique in that day when the reigning thought so long had been that poetry must deal only with the higher classes, those that were genteel and decorous and well dressed. From trivial events he drew sublime instruction. He was the sworn foe of the artificiality and conventionality that had previously prevailed. It was one of his main causes of offense in the eyes of his critics that when they read him they were forced into the society of tinkers, peddlers, beggars, vagrants, idiots. None were cast out from his friendship. He counted nothing that was human foreign from him. Men might be struggling with all manner of infirmities, bowed under all kinds of sorrows, subjected to every sort of indignity and even vice, he saw in them much that was great, beautiful, divine. The things which men usually take to be lowest, the commonest sights of earth and the homeliest household affections, he lifted to the highest place. He displayed the majesty of simple feelings and humble hearts. He warred perpetually with every sort of pretense and pomp.

What he hoped from his poetry was, as he himself wrote to a friend, that it would "console the afflicted; add sunshine to daylight, by making the happy happier; teach the young and the gracious of every age to see, to think, and feel, and therefore to become more actively and securely virtuous." "What I most value in my poems," he says on another occasion, "is the spirituality with which I have endeavored to invest the material universe and the moral relations under which I have wished to exhibit its most ordinary appearances." It is indeed in the realm of morals that we find one of Wordsworth's chief claims to our admiration and regard. Nothing can be thoroughly great that fails here. He does not fail. He has bequeathed to us not a few of those weighty utterances of moral truth which have been styled "the most precious legacy that a man can leave to mankind." In every line of his poetry there is an influence most wholesome and heartening. Not only was he one "that uttered nothing base," as Tennyson has said, but far more than this can be affirmed. He makes direct appeal to the highest sources for the firm control of will and conduct. He continually contends against all despondent and indolent humors. Self-government and deep composure, cheerfulness, tranquillity, simplicity, are taught by all he wrote. With extraordinary strenuousness and insight he idealizes and glorifies the vast universe around us, and thus makes of it an intimate presence intermingling with all our works and "breathing grandeur upon the very humblest face of human life." The moods he invokes are those of settled peace, quietness, strength, steadfastness, and purpose, whether to do or to endure. It is for this he holds a sovereign title to the reverence and gratitude of mankind. He is optimistic in the best sense. The feeling that "our noisy years are but a moment in the being of eternal silence," his faith in "the omnipotence of love and man's unconquerable mind," never wavers, and he is well fitted to administer the highest consolations. The contemplation of evil and pain always ends with him in an inspired expression of his faith in the good which transmutes and transfigures it as clouds

are changed into manifestations of the sunlight which they strive to hide. Success, he taught, grows out of failure; everything fails so far as its object is external and superficial; everything succeeds so far as it is moral and spiritual. The pressure of evil brings from him a spiritual recoil which draws out some of his loftiest and purest notes. He reconciles, fortifies, assuages, heals. Few writers have a more refining and truly educating influence.

In regard to religion, so far as it is distinct from morality and spirituality, and includes other-worldliness, or Christ-likeness, Wordsworth has not a great deal to say. He is not in so definite sense a Christian poet as some others have been. He deals with natural rather than with revealed religion. There are remarkably few references to Scripture in his works. His theology is not pronounced. It is, perhaps, for this reason in part that some not theologically orthodox have found no little moral help in his companionship. John Stuart Mill expresses great indebtedness to Wordsworth: "I felt myself at once better and happier," he says. Also George Eliot, Matthew Arnold, and Leslie Stephen. The latter says: "Other poetry becomes trifling when we are making our inevitable passages through the valley of the shadow of death. Wordsworth's alone retains its power. We love him the more as we grow older and become more deeply impressed with the sadness and seriousness of life. He is a true philosopher. His poetry wears well because it has solid substance. He is a prophet and a moralist as well as a sweet singer." Yet Wordsworth is in no way heterodox, not by any means to be termed pagan or pantheistic, is indeed a most devoted adherent and defender of the Church of England; and in a few of his poems, as in "The Primrose of the Rock," he sings of "God's redeeming love."

Although not a saint, like F. W. Faber—whose poetical powers he greatly admired, declaring "he had a better eye for nature than I have"—Wordsworth's life was in no way unworthy of the high spiritual character of his poems. It was a most tranquil and a most happy life, highly favored beyond

almost any other, thoroughly successful in all respects. After his return from his youthful tour in France in the early nineties, where he came near being mixed up with the Revolution, and his settling down among his native valleys and mountains sequestered from the agitations of the times, with his devoted sister Dorothy, and Mary, his dearly loved wife, his days ran on in greatest peace. Money came to him, from one source or another, in sufficient amounts when it was most needed, and he was able to work out undisturbed his own ideal of the poet's high office. Nature and solitude were his teachers. When a visitor asked to see Wordsworth's study the maid very properly replied, "This is where master keeps his books, but he studies in the fields." His calling from God to be a poet he felt to be unmistakable. He could point indeed to the very time when, returning from a party in the early morning his soul was so kindled by a gorgeous sunrise "that to the brim my heart was full. I made no vows, but vows were then made for me; bond unknown to me was given that I should be, else sinning greatly, a dedicated spirit." It was almost like the call of Saul at the Damascus gate, or the vision of Peter at Joppa. He came speedily to have the strongest conceivable faith in himself and in his mission; that self-confidence which, it has been said, "in a man of genius is sublime, in a man of talent insufferable." It was well he had, for the chief reviewers of the day conspired to put him down. "This will never do," they said; "the case of Mr. Wordsworth is now manifestly hopeless." They styled him "an infatuated poetaster," "the Prince of poetical burlesque," and cast upon him many other words of obloquy. Scarce another writer of his real merit and subsequent reputation has been so ridiculed and reviled. It disturbed him in no whit. He not only kept in good heart himself, but cheered up his friends—there were few that thoroughly believed in him—bidding them not mind the "absolute honest ignorance in which all worldliness of every rank and station must be enveloped with respect to the thoughts and feelings and moods on which the life of my poems depends." He

counted his depreciators to be, as they were, "without love of human nature or reverence for God," and calmly continued on his appointed way, "ears stone dead to this idle buzz, flesh insensible as iron to these petty stings" (so he remarks); not returning the abuse or swerving from his course. "I have written," he avers, "to give vent to my own mind, but not without hope that, some time or other, kindred minds might benefit by my labors." He was well aware that, like all original poets, he must first educate those who should afterwards appreciate him, raising them to his own level, creating the taste by which he was to be enjoyed and judged. He was content to wait for his crowning, confident that it would come; and in due time it did. He lived long enough not only to be made poet laureate, and to receive from the civil list £300 a year for literary merit, but also to be given the homage of the universities and to be triumphantly hailed as the creator of a new school of poetry.

Yet he is so far a poet of passages, with a genius for phrases, felicities, and unforgettable lines, that no other poet thing important to say. He is a prophet and a seer, to whom a new revelation was intrusted, not an artist in the strict sense of the term. He was capable of being greatly inspired. He could speak the *inevitable* word. "His finest utterances do not merely nestle in the ear by virtue of their music, but in the soul and life by virtue of their meaning."

Yet he is so far a poet of passages, with a genius for phrases, felicities, and unforgettable lines, that no other poet but Shakespeare (unless Pope be excepted) has given utterance to so many expressions that have passed into daily life and common mention as household words. Since many who use them are not aware to whom they are indebted we append a brief selection from these familiar sayings:

Alas, the gratitude of men hath oftener left me mourning; the still sad music of humanity; the harvest of a quiet eye; there is a spirit in the woods; the child is father of the man; the sweetest thing that ever grew beside a human door; he was a man of cheerful yesterdays and confident to-morrows; plain living and high thinking; thy soul was like a star and dwelt apart; the vision and the

faculty divine; the light that never was on sea or land; the consecration and the poet's dream; a power is passing from the earth; wisdom married to immortal verse; the mighty stream of tendency; the power of hills is on thee; small service is true service while it lasts; to me the meanest flower that blows can give thoughts that do often lie too deep for tears; heaven lies about us in our infancy; truths that wake to perish never; an old age serene and bright, and lovely as a Lapland night, shall lead thee to the grave; the good old rule, the simple plan, that they should take who have the power and they should keep who can; a creature not too bright or good for human nature's daily food, a perfect woman nobly planned to warn, to comfort, and command; that best portion of a good man's life, his little, nameless, unremembered acts of kindness and of love.

Wordsworth is the poet of the few, not of the many. Only the best minds at their best hours are fully capable of his companionship, can rise near enough to his level to take in his truths. He was without the gift of humor; he had no dramatic power, nor was he very good at pure narration; when he tells a story it is for the sake of the philosophical reflections and moral lessons that can be drawn from it. He wrote scarce any love poems. In pathetic stories of humble life he has no superior; but he was not fitted to compose an epic, nor had he strength for a long sustained philosophic poem; his power was in bursts. He had so little sense of proportion and choice that he constantly tended toward diffuseness and tediousness, was frequently both prosy and prolix. He had little or no fire or blood in his ink, but rather a superfluity of placidity. He was often feeble, cumbrous, and heavy; extremely self-conscious with the burden of his message, weighted with an oppressive solemnity that led him to improve all occasions too obviously; as a teacher he was too much of a pedagogue. More than in reference to any other great poet must we make these concessions and admit these limitations, confessing that perhaps one third of his matter is little better than worthless, and that a great part of him will undoubtedly perish, or, as Arnold puts it, that there is much poetical baggage from which he must be relieved in order to be receivable as a classic.

Nevertheless, in the language of Lowell, "As in Catholic

countries men go for a time into retreat from the importunate dissonances of life to collect their better selves again by communion with things that are heavenly, and therefore eternal, so this Chartreuse of Wordsworth, dedicated to the Genius of Solitude, will allure to its imperturbable calm the finer natures and the more highly tempered intellects of every generation, so long as man has any intuition of what is most sacred in his own emotions and sympathies or of whatever in outward nature is most capable of awakening them and making them operative, whether to console or strengthen." Professor James Marsh, of Vermont University, a gifted and saintly man, was wont to rehearse or read certain of Wordsworth's strains upon his knees as an act of private religious devotion. Lord Selborne testifies: "This acquaintance with the works of Wordsworth has been to me as great a power in the education of mind and character, after the Bible, as any that I have known. I learned from him more about man and more about nature and more about the union of the two than anywhere else." Professor N. H. Hudson says: "His poetry has kept a perpetual spring within me; with December on the head I still have May living and singing in the heart. His poems have been my inseparable companions for nearly fifty years, and every year has but strengthened their hold on me, added to my reverence for their author, and to my gratitude for the unspeakable benediction they have been to me." William Cullen Bryant and R. H. Dana say things of like nature. Sir Walter Scott and Thomas Carlyle give highest encomiums. Robert Southey declared his full conviction that posterity would rank him with Milton. And the warm poetic tributes of Hartley Coleridge, Matthew Arnold, Watson, and our own Whittier, which we have not space to quote, show at what an elevation they placed his services to mankind. He has certainly exerted a commanding influence over many of the minds that have most powerfully affected our generation.

Born at Cockermouth in Cumberland, on the banks of the Derwent, in 1770, and dying at Rydal Mount in 1850, he

filled out fourscore years most worthily. But although he kept writing laboriously almost to the end—and it was his way to work hard at his art, writing and revising nearly every day, concerned mainly with the thought rather than the form, toiling in composition and becoming often so much agitated as to lead to physical exhaustion—the last thirty or thirty-five years brought to view little of value or importance. His poetic career, it has been said, began with a sunrise and closed with a sunset. The latter was seen in 1818, and is commemorated in an Ode "composed on an evening of extraordinary splendor and beauty," which is considered to be the last considerable production of Wordsworth's genius. After this came the slow stiffening of the imaginative power, the slow withdrawal of the insight into the soul of things; the melody dies out of his song, he hardens into "self-repetition, into rhetoric, into sermonizing commonplace, and is rigid where he was once profound." Sadly pathetic is this gradual cessation of the poetic flow (of which he must have been more or less conscious) after he became about fifty.

It is significant that this synchronizes pretty closely with the growing conservatism of his later years, due partly to his deep disappointment at the effects of the French Revolution, partly to the timidity of age and his rooted appreciation of the England which his boyhood knew. He who had been the "prophet of democracy" as well as the poet of spring and progress came to be decidedly reactionary in his thought. He stoutly opposed Catholic Emancipation, the Reform Bill, the new Poor Law, and other things which have made the better England of the present day. They were all, in his mind, notes of ruin. Losing thus his faith in humanity and the future, which had kindled his soul in earlier days and thrilled through his verse in the prime of his manhood, it is not surprising that his poetic nature practically died and the music of his being passed away before his breath departed. Noteworthy also is it that not until his productive power had gone by did the public awake to know that there was a producer among them. While he was sending out his immortal pieces

almost unbroken obloquy was his portion. When he ceased to be a power for origination he began to be a power in reputation. He outlived his dispraise, which was so far satisfactory, but the drawback was that most of his friends were then dead, those who could have shared his glory with him, and he had largely outlived his ambition.

But though he proved in some degree unfaithful to the spirit of Liberty, and gave excuse for Browning's "Lost Leader," he was unquestionably conscientious in all, and remained true to the spirit of God as he apprehended it. The following words, written near the close of his life, show the solemn feelings with which he approached the end: "It is indeed a deep satisfaction to hope and believe that my poetry will be, while it lasts, a help to the cause of virtue and truth, especially among the young. As for myself, it seems now of little moment how long I may be remembered. When a man pushes off in his little boat into the great seas of Infinity and Eternity it surely signifies little how long he is kept in sight by the watchers from the shore."

Nevertheless, it is very certain that he will long be kept in sight. He did a very important work for the world, which we have tried in some degree, through these brief imperfect notes, to indicate. His greatness can be felt by the sympathetic student better than it can be described. He gives right answers to the question of questions, how to live. And if poetry is at bottom a criticism of life, as it has been called, then this alone is enough to make him a great poet. He embodies the thoughts and emotions which come to us in our most solemn and reflective moods, so he is not perhaps a poet for the young so much as for the middle-aged. We love him the more as we grow older and become more deeply impressed with the sadness and seriousness of life. He lightens the burden of the weary world, breathes composure, consolation, hope. He tranquilizes, softens, and refines. He supplies a tonic replete with healing and with uplifting potency. He opens new wells of joy within us; teaches us how to observe external things; educates our sense of beauty, especially in

regard to scenery. He makes the world a happier place, human life a nobler and diviner thing. He gives to the flowers a richer bloom, to the fields a softer verdure, to the woods a sweeter music, to the commonest paths and humblest homes new radiance. He puts by for us "the cloud of mortal destiny," restores to us "the freshness of the early world," gives us back the magic circle of the hills. He makes us "feël that we are greater than we knew." He united the world of sense and the world of the infinite; he fused piety and poetry, the devout spirit of worship and the artistic spirit of imagination. Judged by his worst, he is hardly deserving of any attention; judged by his best, he has hardly any superior. The latter is surely the right way to regard him, and thus regarded, thus studied, he will be a perpetual benediction and the choicest of friends.

James Mudge

Art. IV.—THE IDEA OF REDEMPTION IN HISTORY.

That evil exists is a fact both real and tragic. The knowledge of it is as ancient as the earliest stirrings of man's intellectual and moral life. In literature the way it has oppressed man's consciousness has been given wide and varied expression. Religion also has made it a primary problem, for religion has been developed largely through two impulses, the sense of fear and the desire for perfection, both of which have a direct relation to the evil of the world. Some religions, indeed, go so far as to make evil a fundamental fact in the constitution of the universe, to be destroyed only by the cessation of finite existence. All make it the chief obstacle to man's happiness and moral progress. But deep as the consciousness of evil has been in the historical development of the race it has not led so much to pessimism and despair as to an optimism that has longed for and expected a redemption; for among all nations and in all religions, in one form or another, we find men looking for deliverance, developing soteriologies after the manner of their own imaginings.

The idea of redemption appears, as do all religious ideas, in various stages of development. At first redemption is sought from external evils, but later from the evils of the heart. The means by which redemption is to be accomplished also differ according to the degree to which the ethical consciousness has developed. There is also an intermingling of agencies in some religions, so that only the general stages of the process can be marked.

In the nature-religions, where the reference is not to the moral evil in man, but to the evils which threaten him from without, the lowest form of the redemptive idea is found. The child-man necessarily personifies. Incapable of dealing with abstract conceptions he views nature as living, and ascribes to it powers and feelings such as he himself possesses. Since he cannot make the distinction between evils which are natural or self-caused and those which others have inflicted

he imagines that all his misfortunes, not clearly connected with tangible agents, are due to angry gods or genii of evil that seek his hurt. In some way he has offended them, and plague and famine and disease are the result. "The Australian savage," says Mr. Gregg, "when gorged with mutton and suffering from nightmare, attributes his pain to a fiend who is pestering him for a light, and he flings a firebrand into the night to relieve him of his distress." And so of the powers of nature. Untrained to reflect, that which works for his advantage is taken as a matter of course, but he rivets his attention on that which is antagonistic. The sun which retires behind the cloud to shoot lightning shafts at him from above, the angry warrior the thunder of whose chariot sounds in the sky, the pestilence that walketh in darkness, the earthquake which makes the ground tremble beneath his feet, the young lions and wild beasts that roar after their prey, all these thwart him, blight his happiness, fill him with alarm. He can do nothing in opposition to such powers. If he seeks to resist they are stronger than he and crush him to the earth. There is but one course open to him: he must fling away his weapons and seek to win the favor of those by whom he is afflicted. Since he conceives of them as like his savage neighbors, whose good will is won by favors, he endeavors to propitiate them by giving to them what he thinks they like best. This idea is expressed by Lucian: "The gods do nothing gratis; the good things they make over to men are wares for which they expect a solid equivalent in return." In this we find the origin of sacrifice and not in the sense of sin; the consciousness of sin is a much later development, emerging after the idea of personality and the thought of a moral order have arisen in men's minds. The earliest sacrifices were not expiations but gifts. The powers feared, and therefore supplicated, could be pleased with presents and their favor and help obtained. Consequently the first offerings were the things for which men themselves cared most—fruit, honey, wine, milk, oil, the choicest of the herd. The North American Indian setting out on a chase puffs the first whiffs of his

newly filled pipe to heaven. Animals the god is supposed to especially hate, as rats and mice, which live in holes and dark places away from the light, are also offered. The dearer the object the more certainly will the god be propitiated and his favor won; hence in emergencies nothing costly is to be withheld. This theory resulted in the horrible practice of offering human beings in sacrifice. But while the idea at first had reference exclusively to redemption from external evils, as soon as morality began to penetrate religion, and the idea of God as a moral governor arose, sacrifice assumed a new significance. Then it was felt that the divine anger, of which conscience was the echo, could be appeased only by special sacrifices, those we name expiatory. It is these sacrifices which longest survived. In the earlier offerings an element of substitution was present, the gift being accepted in lieu of the punishment about to be inflicted, and in the sacrifices for transgressions against the moral law this substitutional element was exalted to the leading place. It was conceived that justice did not demand that punishment fall upon the head of the real offender, but that it should fall somewhere; some victim should receive the consequence of the god's displeasure. Diana could be appeased as well by the sacrifice of Iphigenia as by Agamemnon himself being laid on the altar. This is expiatory sacrifice; an idea which could obtain while the personal character of faults was obscure, the idea of family and tribal solidarity unduly emphasized, and ethical ideals so low that the immorality of making the innocent suffer the punishment of the guilty was not recognized.

Among the Hebrews the moral element in the doctrine of sacrifice received a still higher development. In the earliest stages of their religion the old Semitic ideas of sacrifice probably prevailed, and it is doubtful if at first the element of expiation was at all present. One can but note the significant connection between sacrifice and feasting in the pages of Deuteronomy. The first thought was probably to please God with gifts, but later, as the religious consciousness of the

nation developed and the moral character of God was made more real through the preaching of the prophets, the idea of expiation became much more prominent in the offerings; but not, however, in the heathen sense of real substitution, an innocent victim being punished for the guilty. This idea was developed later in Pharisaical theology, but it does not belong to the Old Testament. We have at best here only a symbolic substitution, and that raised above the commercial basis which finds its value in that the offering represents the self-surrender of the offerer vicariously accomplished. The victim does not bear the guilt of the sinner but his repentance. Schultz has expressed the real meaning of the sin-offering in the following words: "The root idea of the propitiatory sacrifice is that the sinner acknowledges his sin, seeks reconciliation, and gives actual expression to his repentance by the surrender of his property. It is an acknowledgment that God is right and the sinner wrong." This gives moral value and significance to Old Testament sacrifice, and lifts it far above the offerings made to pagan gods to propitiate them and gain their good will.

Another form of the redemption idea is that which represents it as accomplished through mediators, these being usually either human heroes virtually becoming gods or gods brought down to the limits of men. It is not difficult to see how this idea may have arisen. In the presence of gigantic forces which war against him, oppressed with a sense of his weakness, man naturally feels the need of help; and it is to be expected that his imagination would invent some supernatural personage who should come upon the stage of action and take his part. Thus redemption would be realized by meeting the god through an adequate champion and overcoming him; or, as in the higher representations of the thought, by having an advocate standing between God and man—either as the representative of deity to reveal his will, or as the representative of man to plead his cause. In many instances these figures probably have an historic origin, being the idealized forms of celebrated national heroes, warriors, or

kings, somewhat as the Semitic gods were developed out of local chieftains. One of the most interesting of these mediators is the Hercules of Greek mythology. Prometheus has incurred the wrath of Zeus by stealing fire from heaven and giving it to men as a means by which they may better their condition and develop a higher civilization. He is punished by being chained to a rock and having a vulture pluck at his vitals. How is the heroic representative of humanity—for Prometheus is that, he is man and the vulture is the ills of life which man feels—how is he to be rescued? Hercules, a young god engendered by Zeus, the perfect type of the hero, at once human and divine, becomes his rescuer. He begins to wrestle with evil in his cradle and his whole subsequent life is given up to the conquest. He becomes "the savior and emancipator of vexed humanity," and obtains, as the reward of his victory, accomplished through obedience and suffering, elevation to a place among the Olympians. In the old Chaldean religion we also find a redeeming figure. He spans the impassable gulf between the gods and men. His nature is difficult to define except as indicated by his name, Silik-mulukhi, which means "the one who distributes good to men." On the one hand he receives from Hea the secret which has power to insure the defeat of the demons; on the other hand he carries to Hea the appeal of men tormented by malignant spirits and diseases. He is called the merciful one among the gods. In the Persian religion, where the dualism between good and evil reaches its greatest expression, victory at last comes to the good through Saoshyas, born of a virgin and conceived by the holy spirit of Zarathustra, who defeats the demons and overthrows their kingdom. In the religions of India we have the doctrine of redemption by mediators suggested in the Avataras, or the Descents—the series of hypostases of the deity in order to secure the triumph of the good. However, it needs to be added that "back of all Hindu thought is the fundamental pantheism, and the incarnations are more the changing forms of the universal substance than they are real incarnations, such as one would suppose." Islam

has its story of Hosein, who in voluntary death gave himself up "as a sacrifice for the world's salvation." In the Old Testament the prophets and priests are mediators in a higher and more moral sense, and in the New Testament salvation is accomplished through the mediation of the Man of Nazareth. The mediation of Jesus, however, embodies other elements, far deeper and richer, and its essence is scarcely to be considered in this connection.

Still another theory of redemption disclosed in history is redemption by good works. This naturally arises as a stage of development following upon the awakening of moral obligation and the fact of personal deficiency. As men come to realize their sins, and to feel that God demands of them a life in harmony with the moral order of the world, they turn to self-efforts to overcome inner antagonism; they seek by self-discipline to remedy their faults and lift themselves into higher moral altitudes and so please the deity. Thus we get religions of law, locating redemption in keeping the precepts of an elaborate ritual. Good examples of this are Mazdeism, Brahmanism, and some phases of Judaism and Romanism. While in these religions other redemptive ideas are present, the emphasis is laid on good works. Thus in the laws of Manu we have a prescribed ritual and system of works covering every detail of life, the fulfillment of which is supposed to give happiness both in this world and in the next. In the Rabbinical theology of the Jews we see the same thought carried out to its farthest limit. Here a ritual was imposed wearisome to be borne and calculated to crush the freedom of man. The old Greek philosophers developed the same view on the basis of their thought of evil as inherent in matter. Socrates thought that the practice of virtue, of good works, was the means of lifting a man from the sphere of sense into the atmosphere of a true soul life. Plato carries out the same conception. With the Stoics the thought was that man attains true freedom by soul mastery. He is redeemed by his will, which triumphs over all inclination and passion. It is a species of salvation by works, as was the theory of the Neo-

Pythagoreans and that of the Neo-Platonic philosophies, although these had mythical elements united with them. Indeed, in most religions the doctrine of works has had a place, and especially in the religions of India. The position of Kant is much the same, for while he gives us a moral ideal in Jesus the only agency by which we can realize this ideal is the workings of our own will. But all systems of legalism fail at this point; the law only sets before us ideals which condemn us, it does not help liberate us from our condemnation and give us strength to attain the heights to which it points. It is good for men with moral strength, but not for those who are morally impotent. This failure of legalism to meet the needs of our nature naturally led to another principle of redemption; namely, that which seeks it by the suppression of the will. In the effort to make one's self good by works it is soon realized that the fact of evil is too deeply rooted in man's nature to be overcome by any mere outward actions. Beyond the external shortcomings of our lives there is a fundamental perversion of the will, a wrong disposition of the heart, a tendency to selfishly seek one's own ends although they are often in variance with moral order, with the will of the Infinite Reason. A man may do the deeds of the law, but this fundamental inclination of his disposition will contend with him at every step. How can this conflict be terminated; how can the selfish will be made free in the direction of the highest good; how can actions arising in a perverse nature ever cease to bear the marks of their source? To this question the development of the religious consciousness seems to have given a twofold answer; namely, redemption must come through the suppression of the will which is in antagonism to the ideal, or the will must be regenerated and renewed from without. The former theory characterizes the religions of India, while the latter is the conception given us by Christianity.

Let us consider briefly the first of these theories in its historical manifestations. It is especially represented in Brahmanism, a religion which denies that the ritual and works

of the laws of Manu can give redemption; for these suppose the possibility of a change in the subject, when as a matter of fact the ego is eternally changeless, as it is a part of God. The only way to redemption is by attaining a correct knowledge of self; to cast off the abiding illusion that we can will —an illusion which is the cause of all our suffering; for, deceiving us in the idea that we have individual existence, it separates us from the All, the ground of our rest and peace. We shall find salvation only as we dissipate the illusion and come to realize our true existence as a part of Brahma. Hence redemption is not by the bringing in of anything new, but by sinking back into our true life from the false state of mind into which we have fallen. We cannot reach this state by any efforts of our own. It is not a result of works but of mystical intuition, a sort of gift of divine grace which lifts man into the possession of a realization of the true essence of self, which is unattainable by human power. But, while this redeeming knowledge cannot be reached by meditation or works, its possible coming may be hastened by the various ascetic practices. Not efficacious of themselves, they are "salutary as a means of grace" which places the soul in a favorable position to receive the redeeming enlightenment. When that enlightenment has come all inner determinations cease in the life of the wise man; "the antithesis of I and thou, of activity and passivity, of desire and choice, of good and evil, is gone forever." All sin and pain vanish with the illusion that the individual is an actor. The obligation of the moral law ceases. "He who has peace in self," says the Brahmanist, "is no longer bound by any duty." Thus there is quiet of soul, but "it is the quiet of death, of the heart dead and emptied, to which along with evils also goods, along with the false and illusory also the true and permanent ends of existence have disappeared and become vain and meaningless." So philosophical and abstract a doctrine as this is, of course, scarcely adapted to the masses. It was by reason of this fact that Buddhism arose, a reaction against the speculative form of Brahmanism, and sought to make its doctrine

of salvation practical. The idea of redemption in both is much the same. Both hold that the ills of life come from the illusion that the world has real worth for the finite will. Both seek life in the death of desire. When the will ceases to cleave to temporal goods peace will come. The content of salvation is, therefore, in Buddhism, as in Brahmanism, the rest of complete self-conquest, or death. There is this difference, however: Buddhism lacks the mystical pantheistic element of the Vedantic philosophy, and does not teach the unity of the soul with Brahma.

We have, in our time, a new philosophy which virtually agrees with Buddhism in its doctrine of redemption. We refer to the school of Schopenhauer and Van Hartmann. These great and brilliant thinkers teach, as Buddhism does, that we are under a great illusion. Schopenhauer says that really there is no external world. It is all the product of mind, a phenomenon of consciousness, a delusion, a dream. The only real thing in the universe is a blind will, which no one can explain. The method of redemption is that gradually we shall come to see that life is an empty form. Then men will cease to propagate and preserve the species and welcome death as the highest good. Thus, at last, individuality, personal existence, will pass completely away and life will be canceled in the nothingness of eternity. The blunder of creation will then be effaced. Van Hartmann virtually agrees with this. He says that after men will have passed from deception to deception they will come to see the utter vanity of existence, and seek liberation by a collective and concerted act of self-destruction.

We come now to consider the second alternative growing out of the consciousness of the perversion of the will as it is revealed in the doctrine of good works; namely, redemption by the regeneration of the will. There are a world of natural desires and tendencies which the selfish will seeks, and yet there is an ideal in the mind which does not sanction a life fully egoistic. We feel the demands of the universal reason, manifest in the world order, as personally binding upon us.

We can but realize that the evils of life come because we have not accepted this higher law, this absolute good, as our sole determinative. Hence the ego turns upon itself and the sense of guilt and unrest arises. How shall this sense of condemnation and inner antagonism be eradicated and peace secured? Not by the suppression of the will, which empties life of its content, but by a change of the will, a change such as will lift it above its selfish tendencies and unify it with the higher law, the will of God. Christianity provides for this in its doctrine of redemption. Its salvation, despite erroneous puttings of it, is not primarily legalistic, but ethical; not a forensic redemption wrought without, but a vital redemption accomplished within; not a transaction to satisfy the demands of an external law, but a process by which man is enabled to keep the law; not so much a form as a quickened life. The end of Christ's redemption is not that God may be reconciled, but that man may be renewed; not that broken law may have a compensation, but that the human will may change the center of its attachment. Christ conceived his life not so much an offering to God as an offering to men. He saw that participation in the blessings of the kingdom required the renunciation of earthly happiness and well-being, and how could he then, as man's great teacher and example, save himself if others were to be saved? His vocation demanded sacrifice, and by sacrifice men were to receive remission of sins, the deliverance being an inward one; for Christ's conception of the fatherly love of God is scarcely in harmony with the idea that his own work was to call out and establish such a love, although he felt it might give it additional motive impulse. He certainly believed that God stands ready to forgive every penitent, and that his work was to stimulate in men obedient surrender and repentance. Thus his death was a covenant testimony on the part of those who accepted him that they devoted themselves to God and his laws in Christ's spirit; and on the part of God it was a testimony of his forgiving grace. Hence the essential ideas of the sacrifices of the old covenant were carried over into the

new. The redemptive power was in the ideal which Christ in his own person embodied; thus winning men by his interest in them, through love for himself, into love of what he was. To love God in Christ is to love the virtues for which Christ stands, moral and spiritual, and is thus to exchange self-will and self-desire for the will of God.

In the writings of Paul the redemptive idea is given another form than that which we find in the gospels. Paul was trained in the Pharisaical theology, and hence in the idea of law and substitutional expiation. But he gives this doctrine a turn which removes from it its gross and objectional features. Christ was not a mere substitute for the sinner, but one with whom the sinner became identified through faith. Christ thus, as the second Adam, incorporates humanity into himself, and men die and rise in him. Thus the real redemption is, after all, "not one dying for all, but the inner experience of all in and with the one." Faith changes men's ideals, for faith, like love, identifies subject and object. To have the faith which Paul taught is not simply to believe in an ideal, but to trust or surrender one's self to it. Thus the individual who believes in Christ in Paul's view of faith gives up his own will, his own selfish desires, and accepts the mind and spirit of Christ. He seeks to realize the higher will in his daily life. Thus the doctrine of redemption becomes distinctly ethical and agrees with that taught by Jesus, both renewing the self-will by changing to a divine ideal. By both love and faith men may surrender the heart "to the type of pure humanity" and experience an inner change in their affections by which the bondage to law and the sense of guilt are done away and an inner moral and spiritual strength gained. Christ emphasized the first bond, and Paul the second, but both reach the same result, the renewal of the will by dedicating it to new ideals. Redemption, then, according to Christianity, is not "a miraculous process, external to us, which was accomplished long ago and once for all by the sacrificial death of a God in our favor, but it is a moral event happening within the soul which always repeats itself:

the self-sacrifice of the will of God in obedience, love, and patience." This truth needs to be earnestly proclaimed to the people. The tendency with the unthinking is to look at salvation as a forensic event, accomplished without, rather than a moral event which must be realized within.

It is not possible within the limits of this article to follow out the history of the redemption idea in the history of the Church, to see how dogmatism has covered up its true meaning for centuries and yet how a kernel of the true conception at all times remained. Suffice it to say that Paul's Pharisaical training led him to adopt forms of expression relating to propitiatory penalty, vicarious expiation, racial solidarity, etc., which have wrought the most artificial and erroneous theories of the atonement; and the end is not yet. If men would distinguish between the old Jewish forms and the meaning Paul expressed under them we should soon come to saner and more helpful conceptions; and this men are doing in our time as in no other period of Christian history.

From what has been said it is clear that there is a great and common truth exemplified by the various doctrines of redemption: that man is not able to find rest and peace in himself or in the world in which he lives. All systems of good works end in empty legalism; all efforts at self-suppression in the destruction of the man who is to be saved. The Christian religion alone preserves the integrity of individual existence, allows man freedom in the development of his life, and at the same time secures that unity with the highest good which constitutes man's perfection. This is infinitely superior to any other doctrine of redemption and again proves that Christianity is the light and life of men.

Samuel Plantz

Art. V.—THE ORIGIN OF THE SEMITIC ALPHABET.

Writing is an objective and permanent means of conveying thought to minds at a distance in space or time. It may be found in the form of a picture which becomes the sign of the object portrayed (pictogram); or a conventional sign which stands, likewise, for an object, but may stand, as well, for an abstract notion connected with an object (ideogram), or even for a sound and not a notion either concrete or abstract (phonogram). When writing represents sounds there are different degrees of representative value in the signs employed. They may stand for whole words, syllables of three or more elements, simple syllables of two elements, or simple sounds which cannot be analyzed.

All writing is either ideographic or phonographic. Ideographic writing includes the pictogram and the ideogram proper, the latter being distinguished from the former in that it does not in itself suggest the idea, while the pictogram is always intended to do so. Phonographic writing takes in the ideographic phonogram, syllabic phonogram, and letters or alphabetic phonograms. The ideographic phonogram employs the ideogram proper to represent, not an idea, but merely a name which sounds the same as the name of the thing originally denoted by the sign.

Historically viewed, writing in its pictographic stage is as old as Paleolithic man. It would be rash to compute in numbers of years the antiquity represented by such a statement. It is beyond the time when man planted or sowed, made earthen vessels, prepared, by spinning or weaving, wool and flax, or lived in houses. The growth of writing from its remote beginning was no matter of centuries, but of milleniums. The passage from the simple picture of the object to the representation of an abstract notion by a picture, thence to the employment of the picture as the symbol of a sound, thence to the use of the whilom picture for a simpler sound, until at last the final elements of speech come to be

expressed by signs—this long evolution must have required an antiquity greater than that of any existing world power of our day. How difficult and slowly realized the last step of the progress is of itself alone we may understand when it is recalled that it presupposes the discovery and isolation of the ultimate elements of human language, and these for the most part are what we call consonants, that is to say, sounds which we irresistibly think of in composite connection with other more audible sounds (con+sonant). Untrained minds always fail to accomplish the complete analysis of human speech into its elements. The invention of an alphabet demands as its prerequisite a relatively high degree of culture.

Over five thousand years ago Egypt had reached the final stage in the development of writing. It was in possession of an alphabet. This fact bears witness to the ancient origin of the Egyptian civilization, for it is admitted that the writing of the Egyptians is not due to borrowing, but entirely to native invention. The alphabet of Egypt was not, however, a perfect one. It had some sounds which were represented by more than one sign; that is, it contained homophones and was, therefore, redundant. It was, also, not exclusively used, for the older ideographic signs and syllabic phonograms were employed at the same time. That the more cumbrous and difficult syllabic and ideographic signs should not have been discarded for the simpler alphabet once it had been discovered seems remarkable. The reason is probably to be found in the fact that writing was confined largely to a priestly literary class. This class is proverbially conservative and, likewise, rejoices to possess and retain power through the knowledge and practice of a difficult or mysterious art. Had the writing of Egypt been in the hands of a commercial class or of the common people they would have, doubtless, adopted the alphabet alone.

In Babylonia we have no early record of an alphabet. The cuneiform writing is non-Semitic in origin, and at no time, as used by the Semites, did it contain a system of alphabetic signs. In the court of the Achæmenian kings of Persia there

was in use a cuneiform alphabet which employed Babylonian signs, but it had no extended use and apparently did not long outlive the dynasty which introduced it. In any event, it did not come into use among the Semites. This Persepolitan alphabet, as it is called, was not purely alphabetic throughout. A few of the signs had a syllabic value.

When we refer to a Semitic alphabet we have in view only the ancient "Phœnician" system of written signs and its Semitic derivatives. The oldest examples of this system are the inscription on the Moabite Stone, circa 890 B. C., the Baal-Lebanon inscription, circa 850 B. C., and the Senjirli inscriptions, many of which are of the ninth and eighth centuries B. C. Each of these examples has distinctive features of its own, and represents not the primitive Semitic writing, but possibly a direct derivative from this. If we allow for the growth of the distinctive features in each case, and the antecedent effort to naturalize so strange a thing as a borrowed system of writing, we will be prepared to grant that writing was known in Moab, the region of the Baal-Lebanon bowl, and that of the Senjirli remains as early as 1100 B. C. Granting that much, we will find it necessary to fix upon 1500 B. C. as the latest reasonable date for the invention of the alphabet among the Semites.

To support our conclusions we may call in the testimony of the oldest known Greek records which use the "Phœnician" letters. These date from the eighth and ninth centuries B. C., like the Senjirli inscriptions referred to, and are written boustrophedon—from right to left and then from left to right in alternate lines—in characters which are unmistakably Semitic and yet have already marked features of their own. Variation of form and direction of writing, which we find in this case, suppose a greater remove from primitive Semitic writing than it was needful to assume in the other cases already considered, and support the more strongly our inference as to the *terminus ad quem* for the invention of the alphabet. It was not later than 1500 B. C.

We have taken it for granted that the Phœnician branch

of the Semitic family was that in which Semitic alphabetic symbols originated. This assumption we may endeavor to justify. The classical writers who refer to the subject regard the Phœnicians as the first Semites to use an alphabet. The Greek writers call their own letters *φοινικήϊα γράμματα* or *καδμήϊα γράμματα*. The latter term refers their system of writing to the mythical Cadmus, who, however, is only a personification of the Semitic *qedem* or *qadmôn*, the East. The references of the classical writers speak of the Phœnicians as receiving their writing from Egypt or Assyria. We shall later on examine the question whether the system was a native Phœnician production or a borrowed article. For the present the Phœnicians are before us as the first Semites to use letter symbols. Thus the testimony of tradition is confirmed by the nature of the case. The Phœnicians with their highly developed commercial civilization required a simple system of writing, and were the one Semitic people of antiquity who had at once the need of writing arising from extensive external commerce and the culture sufficiently advanced to supply it. Phœnicia was in touch more than any other country of remote times with civilizations outside of her own, and would be ready to profit by any suggestions which they might present, not merely for the comfort of life, but for the convenience of business. We must bear in mind that the greatness of the splendid city kingdoms of Phœnicia—Tyre, Sidon, Gebal, Simura, Berytus, and others—lies back of the beginnings of Israel's history. When Israel flourished they were still important places, but the distinguished period of their history lay in the past. This consideration will make to appear possible the existence among the Phœnicians in a very remote time of a need for writing and of the culture adequate to meet it.

Just here the bearing of the Tell el-Amarna letters on our subject has to be considered. As is well known, these letters, written from Palestine and Syria to the Egyptian Pharaohs or officers of their court, employ the cuneiform character. They also employ the Babylonian language, with here and

there Aramaic glosses. Their date is the fifteenth century B. C. Does the existence of such a correspondence in cuneiform writing imply that in the fifteenth century B. C. this script was employed exclusively in the land? It does not imply such a conclusion any more than the Babylonian speech of the letters implies the use of that language by the people generally. The fact is that in the different local centers and in the court of Egypt there were present scribes who could and did execute such letters, and the writing and language were adopted and these scribes employed because the diplomatic usage of the age demanded it. If the use of the Babylonian language and writing had been at all general in Palestine during the Amarna period we should have had traces of such use in the speech and writing which came later. We do not find such. When we come to language, writing, and the arts of life, the Canaanite branch of the Semitic family, including the Phœnicians, Hebrews, and the tribes of the interior of Palestine, has been pervaded by Phœnician and Aramæan influences, rather than by Assyro-Babylonian. The great influence of Assyria and Babylonia has been in realms of literature and religion. Some have sought for the origin of the Phœnician alphabet in the cuneiform characters of the Euphrates valley. The absence of alphabetic writing in that quarter, however, would preclude the possibility of its invention being suggested by the cuneiform. While further, if we confine the possible date of the invention between the limits 2000 B. C. and 1500 B. C., the forms of the then generally current cuneiform signs would not be such as to suggest or account for the Phœnician letters as we may infer them to have been at first formed from the later Moabite inscription and the other oldest monuments.

Egypt, in the time of the Old Hieratic writing (twenty-third century B. C. to the seventeenth century B. C.), furnishes conditions which make it more than possible that a connection exists between the Phœnician invention and that country. The Old Hieratic writing presents some interesting analogies to the Semitic letters. It included alphabetic

symbols, and the general design of the characters is favorable to a genetic relationship of some kind between the two systems. It is more than is justifiable to say that the Semitic letters were borrowed from the Old Hieratic signs of corresponding value, but it is not unreasonable to look upon this Egyptian writing as suggesting to the Semites the idea of an alphabet, the acrologic principle in its preparation (that is, the calling of the letters by the names of objects the initial sound of whose respective names is the sound represented by the several letters), and the manner of drawing the symbols. As regards the last point, the Egyptians could show the Phœnicians how a picture of a very rough, unfinished character would suffice, and how such a picture could be very rapidly drawn. We are led to believe from the evidence and arguments we have seen that dependence to this extent, at least, exists between the Phœnician alphabet and the writing of the Old Hieratic style in Egypt. A comparative table of the characters of the Papyrus Prisse (Old Hieratic) and of the ancient Phœnician signs will be found in I. Taylor, *The Alphabet,* vol. i. Taylor, however, infers too much from his comparison.

Notwithstanding these suggestions from without, the actual invention of the alphabet in question is to be credited to the Phœnicians themselves. The names, order, and numerical values of the letters are clearly Semitic, and the efforts to positively identify particular forms of letters with the corresponding letters of Egyptian writing have not been successful. The Phœnician forms at the earliest period known to us are not at the "perfect picture" stage. They are reduced and conventionalized pictures, and were executed with relative ease and speed. The stage of slow and exact picture writing was probably never present among the Phœnicians. They started in approximately where they found the Egyptian picture writing when it had come to the Old Hieratic stage—not with the Egyptian written pictures, of course, but with their own.

After speaking up to this point of an *alphabet* which was

invented by the Phœnicians, it will appear strange to ask whether their system was purely alphabetic in its primitive stage. From evidences which are forthcoming it may be assumed not to have been. The use of certain letters which have a definite consonant value as signs for vowel sounds indicates that vowels inhered in these letters under certain conditions. The later preference of the gutturals for the vowel *a* probably implies that the letters ', h, ḥ, ' were at the first 'a or a', ha or ah, ḥa or aḥ, 'a or a', according to position. Thus there were some signs with syllabic value.

From the very beginning the Semitic alphabet was deficient, even for the representation of the sounds of purely Semitic speech. Several letters had a double value, instead of having one letter, one value, as a perfect alphabet ought to have had it. Thus, ch and emphatic h have but one sign (ח); ' and gh but one (ע); א represents two sounds which are hard to distinguish on paper; d and dh have the one sign (ד); t and th have ט; ś and sh have ש; emphatic s and emphatic z have צ. The Semitic alphabet was not, however, redundant in the first instance. A given sound was represented by one and only one sign. It would be altogether strange if an alphabet were redundant, however, in its beginning stage.

The names of the letters are as old as the forms themselves. They with the forms afford some hints as to the culture of the age in which the writing was introduced. Plowing with oxen was followed, as the name of the first letter (*aleph*, an ox) and that of the twelfth (*lameth*, a goad) indicate. Another letter (*cheth*, an inclosure?) probably relates to agriculture, likewise. That people lived in built houses is implied by the name and figure of the second character (*beth*, a house); and, perhaps, by another character (*hē*) which means some kind of a window. But the life of the nomad was known, as well, for the form and name of another sign (*daleth*), taken together, look toward the "door" of a tent. The sign for "w" (*waw*), too, by name and primitive form points to the curtain pegs or nails of a tent (the word is used in the Old

Testament only with reference to the "tent of meeting"). The third letter of the alphabet (*gimel,* a camel) indicates that trade caravans were known; while the inventors of the letters must have been a maritime people and familiar with fishing, judging from the fact that the name of one character means "water" (*mem*) and that of another means "fish" (*nun*). Most of the characters not accounted for in this discussion already are the names of parts of the body (*yodh,* hand); *kaph,* palm; *rēsh,* head, etc.). We may, however, call attention to the final letter (*tau,* a mark, a cross). It has the name of the sign which was commonly used as a signature in trade and on documents of various kinds. The ancient form of the letter, also, is precisely the old form of the signature which survives among the illiterate to this day (the cross between the words "his mark"). Such a letter implies a trading people as the inventors of the alphabet. None of the figures, or names either, have any apparent relation to religion. This negative fact and all the positive indications touching the culture of the inventors which we have sought to trace point to Phœnicia as the country where the Phœnician writing was first elaborated and used. These hints which the letters and their names afford justify the assumption that the impulse which led to the invention of this alphabet was a secular impulse, and, apparently, a commercial one, as well.

The accepted Hebrew order of the Phœnician letters is that which we have followed in such references hitherto as have involved the place of the respective letters in the series. This order is almost, if not exactly, the primitive one, as we see from a comparison with the Greek alphabet. It is an order based, in part, on the principle of morphological arrangement (like forms are placed together); in part, on that of phonological arrangement (like sounds are placed together); but, more than either of these, on that of ideological arrangement (things naturally or in thought connected are placed together).

Why may we not look upon the Phœnicians as independent of any foreign aid in the finding of their writing? We

answer, because the Phœnician civilization does not afford anything like sufficient evidence of the preparatory stages which must be found if there is to be the independent production of an alphabet. Where a nation has come unaided to alphabetic writing it must have come through the preliminary stages of pictographic and ideographic script and syllabic phonograms. Now, not only does the Phœnician civilization afford quite inadequate evidence of even the phonogram stage, but it is not to be deemed of antiquity sufficient to allow of the other stages being conceived as possible. In addition, there is good warrant for allowing a body of suggestion from Egypt, as we have sought to show. What may be claimed for the Phœnicians beyond their neighbors is that they went further in the development and application of alphabetic writing than any other ancient people. Leaving entirely behind the use of ideograms and syllabic phonograms, they committed themselves to alphabetic signs alone. The genius of Babylonia and of Egypt never reached so far in its attainment. In our admiration for the splendid intelligence of the ancient Nile land as shown in its unaided production of the Egyptian art of writing, we must not forget that the spirit which could go one step beyond Egypt even is also worthy of its meed of praise.

The significance of the invention of the Phœnician alphabet cannot easily be overestimated. In this alphabet, or one of its derivatives, the Hebrew Scriptures were written, and the simplicity of the writing for both writer and reader had much to do with that extended circulation and knowledge of the Old Testament which constituted a valuable preparation for Christianity. It is also matter of common knowledge that from the Phœnician alphabet are derived all the alphabets of Europe, Asia, and Africa, except the ancient Egyptian and Persepolitan.

It is rather curious to notice that our printed Roman characters of the present day, when we make allowance for the difference in the direction of writing, are really nearer to the forms of the oldest monuments of the Semitic alphabet than

are the letters in the derived Semitic systems themselves. Square Hebrew, Syriac, and Arabic signs when compared with our Roman types will illustrate this statement. The reason for this is not far to seek. The Semite looks for the most conveniently and rapidly written mode of writing. The writer tries to accomplish his work easily and quickly for his own sake, and the result is the gradual but sure degeneration of the forms of the letters. On the other hand, the Indo-European in Europe looks for the most distinct and easiest read mode of writing. The writer in this case tries to do his work clearly for the sake of the reader, and the outcome is a conservation of the forms of the letters. The loss or retention of primitive character in written signs depends upon whether speed in writing or in reading is made an end with the scribe. The lack of political or religious unity in the Semitic world has increased the variability of Semitic writing, while the unity of the Greek and the Roman empires respectively, and the adoption of Christianity as a religion by all the nations of Europe practically, have assisted in maintaining the old character of writing in the West.

The European alphabets have signs for vowel sounds in the oldest specimens which have been discovered. The Semitic forms of the Phœnician writing had no native system of vowel representation until the Syriac schools of the fifth and sixth centuries A. D. invented their system of vowel points. In the Semitic writing systems the consonants *w* and *y* might stand for *u* or *o* and *i* respectively, and certain gutturals might be employed to indicate *a*, but there were in early times no independent vowel signs. The explanation of this lack is that the Semite views words as wholes. He therefore tries to obtain a sign which will stand to him as a concrete whole for the idea, rather that a group of separate signs which will afford adequate representation of all the sounds of a word. In his effort to represent the whole idea, or at most the syllabic factors of its name, he shows his connection with the more elementary stages of writing and his difference from those who have become fully accustomed to the representation

of each sound by a sign. Moreover, in the Semitic tongues major variations of meaning are indicated by consonant change and only minor variations by vowel change. The minor changes are, however, just those which most frequently occur, and the connection in which words stand is generally sufficient to show where they take place and what they are. Thus, because of his view of the written word, because vowels had not the importance of function which consonants possessed, because their frequency of change made it a trouble to record them, and because the context largely aided the reader in fixing the vowel sounds to be supplied—for these reasons the Semite mind for a long period neglected to think out any scheme of vowel characters. They borrowed the idea of vowel representation, finally, from the Greeks, and appear to have provided the signs under protest. They were looked upon as a concession to weakness of intellect or ignorance. They did not coordinate the vowel symbols with the consonants in their writing, but placed them outside of the body of the word. They are shown by this means to be merely accidental, the essential part of the word being the group of consonants. Arabic is, and has been since the eighth century A. D., the most largely used system of Semitic writing. It is employed by all classes of people, and yet the representation of vowel sounds by signs is the most scanty imaginable. There are but three vowel marks, and in all but a small proportion of what is written or printed in Arabic they are left out. Another reason why the Semitic languages do not use vowel characters as we find it necessary to do is that the pronunciation of their words does not change as it does among the European peoples. In proportion to the instability of pronunciation among a people does it become needful for them to fully provide a graphic representation of sounds. While with the Indo-European the forms of letters are slow in changing, the value of letters is more liable to change with time and place. Among the Semites, on the contrary, values are relatively constant; forms are not.

The Semite has, on the whole, been conservative in relation

to the direction of his writing. Most Semites write from right to left. This fact appears to oppose strongly the attempt to derive the Phœnician alphabet from the cuneiform of Babylonia. The latter was always written from left to right. The direction from right to left was likewise practiced in Egypt. The Phœnicians were influenced in choosing this direction by the greater convenience of this manner of writing where inscriptions on stone were in view. The Phœnician system is not a cursive system of writing; originally straight strokes largely predominated in it. Both these facts are favorable to a progress of the hand and eye from the right side of a page, tablet, or stone face to the left.

Cursive writing has never been favored by the Semitic peoples sufficiently to produce a perfect cursive system. Arabic and Syriac alike require the breaking of the line between certain letters, and they are the best examples of cursive writing among the Semites. Earlier examples of this style are so difficult to read that it seems likely that they furnished a reason for the school reform of writing which the Syrian schools of the sixth century began.

It is to be regretted that we cannot trace the earliest history of this Semitic writing from the Phœnician records themselves. There must have been records made of Phœnician commerce, navigation, colonization, and history, not to speak of science and art. We are told by later authorities, who occasionally preserve to us fragments of it, that the Phœnicians had a varied and extensive literature. It seems to have perished. From appearances, however, we must at present conclude that the early records of Phœnicia were for the most part written on too fragile a material to withstand the ravages of war and time. We have no good hope of obtaining materials for a satisfactory study of the primitive Phœnician alphabet.

Walter M. Patton

Art. VI.—VICTOR HUGO AS A WRITER.

The literary fame of Victor Hugo is due principally to the fact that he inaugurated a new movement in literature and became the founder of the romantic school. He alone had the genius necessary to break the fetters of classicism, which had become petrified since the days of Corneille and Racine. Only a strong man could deal the deathblow to pedantry and institute a reform despite the opposition of the Academy. He boldly discarded the three unities and the various traditions of the classic school. Casting down the barriers, he demanded the same freedom for the French theater that Shakespeare had inaugurated in England, and Goethe and Schiller in Germany. The drama according to Hugo's conception is a mixture of tragedy and comedy, where the beautiful and the ugly, the sublime and the trivial, meet. These contrasts appear in all of Hugo's writings, especially in his dramas and novels. The early popularity and fame achieved through this reform and his position as acknowledged head of the romantic movement were, however, not favorable to his subsequent development, causing him to indulge in extreme measures and extravagancies. Hence some claim that he destroyed the fame of the classic drama without putting anything better in its place. It was, therefore, not at all surprising that the romantic school had already ceased to dominate letters long before Hugo's death, and had been replaced by a literature saturated with pessimism. A great fault of the romantic school is that it attaches too much importance to feeling and that the acting persons of its dramas and novels are often unreal. Idealism dominates the works of its founder throughout. Reaction soon set in, and the idealized characters created by Hugo's fertile brain were soon followed by the commonplace men and women found in the works of Zola, Flaubert, and the Goncourts.

Hugo's main strength lies in lyric poetry. The exotic imagery and exquisite beauty of his poems are such that even

the strictest adherents of classicism could not withhold their admiration. Such stirring poetry had not been heard before. It captivated all, friends and enemies, because it appealed not only to the imagination, but also to the heart. The greatest height of his poetic flight was reached in *Les Contemplations*, which is perhaps his ripest and most symmetric production and presents fewer of the mannerisms peculiar to most of his poems. A great help to him in these brilliant delineations was his vivid imagination, which never failed him, and his wonderful resources in rhythmic flow of numbers, which fully equals that of Schiller, Byron, and Poe. His verses often make the impression as if they were not considered by him as a means to an end, but as the principal object sought. Hugo's masterly hand runs magically over the keys, producing harmony and discord by turns, changing from major to minor and back at will, often so suddenly as to grate on the ear, but always winding up with a grand symphony, which makes one forget the chromatic runs and the kaleidoscopic jumbles of the verses.

Hugo's views of the drama are that whatsoever is found in nature is a fit object for dramatic representation, and that the main characteristic of the drama is the real. Two fundamental principles, the sublime and the grotesque, must find expression in every play. True poetry has the capacity to unite these two contradictory elements. These conditions, as illustrated in *Marion Delorme*, are, of course, hostile to classic tragedy. Hugo thus follows in the footsteps of Shakespeare, but lacks the healthy taste and the clear insight into human nature of his great prototype. He makes too often the hideous in nature or human life the subject of his dramas, as is illustrated in *Han d'Islande*. Nor does he always carry out his dramatic views that a play must be historically true and be penetrated by the spirit of the times. Not having made thorough original researches preparatory to his compositions, the historic truth emphasized by him centers too often merely in costumes, manners, and other paraphernalia, taken perhaps from sources of doubtful authority. Pathos,

coloring, declamation often cover historic sins. In his introduction to *Cromwell* he laid down his views of the drama. He there discards the unities of time and place as fetters which handicap the poet and must, therefore, be broken. He recognizes, however, to some extent the unity of action, the *ensemble.* The assertion of the classicists that the Greek drama is to be considered a model to which the modern must conform is boldly contradicted by Hugo, and the comic element in tragedy is defended and considered perfectly admissible. The two all-important elements of the modern drama are nature and truth. In the classic drama up to that time the hero had been represented as giving vent to his feelings in the highly declamatory style which since the days of Louis XIV had been considered the only language suited to the *Théâtre Français.* Hugo's *dramatis personæ* speak as they would in daily life: the peasant as a peasant, the *bourgeois* as a *bourgeois,* the nobleman as a nobleman, the scholar as a scholar, etc. And the sequel showed that the dramatic effect did not suffer through the change. The principal interest in his dramas centers in vivid contrasts. One noble sentiment is sufficient in Hugo's eyes to render a person sympathetic, however repulsive otherwise. In *Hernani,* which is considered his dramatic masterpiece, these antitheses appear least. Nevertheless, the play was criticised severely by the classicists. However, in spite of fierce opposition, it took possession of the *Théâtre Français,* and with its admission the last hour of classicism had come. The lack of accurate knowledge mentioned above is oftenest felt in his historical dramas and novels. The interest which they create is not so much due to true historical delineation as to brilliant coloring and the introduction of the weird. Hence many curiosities are met which puzzle or thrill, but have no historical value and often but little bearing on the subject. Even in the historical novel his strength lies in declamation. He gains his end by means of the grotesque, by the juxtaposition of purest virtue and vice of the deepest hue. His idealism thus finds expression principally in climax. With

him the paradoxical and the self-evident, the sublime and the commonplace, are inseparable. His main object being not to fathom truth, but to dazzle, he does not take pains to obtain accurate information, to weigh and to sift, but prefers to tread the easier road—to impress by using artificial means: stirring descriptions, brilliant coloring, and anthithesis.

His first two novels, *Han d'Islande* and *Bug Jargal,* are the extravagant productions of an overheated imagination. Compared with the first fruits of Schiller, *The Robbers* and *Fiesco,* they are inferior productions. His paradoxical views found expression especially in *Han d'Islande.* The latter constituted a type which was several times reproduced by him in other forms. Rarely has a young writer made his *début* with such an abnormal production. The work, however, is not without a moral: the vicious are punished and the virtuous rewarded. In *Marion Delorme* and *Notre Dame de Paris* the characters are truer and the style less florid.

In *Notre Dame* the reader is introduced to life peculiar to the Middle Ages. The novel depicts Paris as it is supposed to have been in the fifteenth century. The best features of the work are the masterly *genre* pictures with which the story is interwoven. For this novel Hugo evidently made original researches; hence the portrayal of the ancient city is probably true. The author is evidently at home in all that pertains to archæology, and the descriptions are seemingly true portraitures of the times. The characters and episodes of the work, however, impress one as being less the result of historic research than the creations of his brain, such as he imagined would best fit into the frame, and from the standpoint of the antiquarian they certainly are fitting. Besides, other great writers, like Ebers, Bulwer, and Dahn, have taken the same liberty in the historic novel. On the whole, *Notre Dame* is Hugo's best novel.

If *Notre Dame* has an archæological background, *Les Misérables* was written with political and sociological tendencies. The hero of the story, Jean Valjean, is, however, a moral impossibility. The novel contains episodes of exquisite

beauty and is interwoven with psychological studies, but these excellencies only make up in part for the incoherence of the composition. The digressions of the book are too many and too lengthy. Furthermore, some of them seem to have little or no connection with the thread of the narrative. Such are the descriptions of the sewers of Paris, of the battle of Waterloo, of various buildings and places, and the dissertation on *Argot*. Nevertheless, some of these digressions are, from the historic point of view, of interest to certain classes of readers and not nearly so wearisome as the minute descriptions and small talk one meets in the pages of Zola and other realists. The best parts of the lengthy production are those pertaining to children, particularly the chapters describing Cosette and Gavroche. The latter is a true type of a Parisian *gamin,* depicted by a masterly hand. I doubt that in the whole field of literature there is anything that surpasses it. *Les Misérables* is a masterpiece replete with interesting episodes and written with a noble purpose.

Hugo was a master in three departments of literature; he was great as a lyric and dramatic poet and as a novelist. No other French writer is as many-sided as he. Of course, he had his faults, prominent among which are a lack of steadiness of character and unity of purpose. His ideas in politics, literature, and sociology lacked clearness. His was a dual nature. His style is prolix, exalted, rhetorical, and emphatic. He is full of resources in inventing, but lacks tact and a sense of the proper, ignores too often historical facts, and is a worshiper of genius. He is the national poet of the French, and he holds in France the same position in the minds of the people that Schiller occupies in Germany. The French people understand him, love him, and worship him as they do no other poet, not even Béranger excepted. This is not surprising, for Hugo speaks to the heart and is, therefore, understood by all classes. His magnetic words thrill the proletarian, the *bourgeois,* and the scholar alike.

Victor Wilker.

Art. VII.—ROBERT LOUIS STEVENSON.

Several years ago I tried to read *The Master of Ballantrae,* but did not finish it. Whether my lack of interest in the story was due to the fact that I was not in a proper mood of mind or that I have never been especially interested in the novel of adventure I scarcely know, but I felt that Stevenson was not for me. Some time after that, however, reading the fine tribute to "R. L. S." in *Margaret Ogilvy,* I knew that I had misjudged the man. Barrie says:

> While R. L. S. was at it we others were only 'prentices cutting our fingers on his tools. . . . He was the spirit of boyhood tugging at the skirts of this old world and compelling it to come back and play. . . . Well, Vailima was the one spot of earth I had any craving to visit. . . . In the meantime that happened which put an end forever to my scheme of travel. I shall never go up the "Road of the Loving Heart" now, "on a wonderful clear night of stars," to meet the man coming toward me on a horse. It is still a wonderful clear night of stars, but the road is empty. So I never saw the dear king of us all.

Such affectionate appreciation from Barrie, and afterward chance glimpses of some of his essays and striking quotations from his books, sent me a second time to one of the commanding men of letters of the past generation.

Much of his life may be learned from his delightful essays in *Memories and Portraits* and the deeply interesting letters as edited by Sidney Colvin in 1899, and from *The Vailima Letters* published in 1894. Now comes the long promised Life by Graham Balfour and all necessary material for knowing the man and his heroism is in hand. People who may never read his novels will feel an ever-increasing interest in his charming personality. Try as he may, Mr. Henley cannot affect the idealization or "canonization" of Stevenson that has been going on in the minds of the people of England and America. There will always attach to him the admiration and affection of those who know his brave fight with death and his victory over the ills of life. In all of his

struggles he retained his interest in life, his love of men, and his faith in God. He left behind many works, but those who knew him most intimately felt that the best was yet to be. As with Keats and Sidney Lanier, his highest tasks were unaccomplished and his noblest visions unrealized. He is one of "the inheritors of the unfulfilled renown."

It is hard to realize the extent to which his life was "one long disease." He kept all references to his afflictions out of his works except in the essay "Ordered South," and even there he took it all back in a note added at a later date. As late as 1885 the critic William Archer referred to him as a rosy-gilled "athletico-æsthete" who needed only a rheumatic fever to try his optimistic philosophy of life. Well might Stevenson write to Henry James, "To those who know that rickety and cloistered specter, the real R. L. S., the paper, besides being clever in itself, presents rare elements of sport." From his boyhood he was always being ordered south or north or east or west in search of some slight relief from lung troubles. His worst sufferings were encountered in California, whither he had come from England on a cattle ship and where he also endured the pangs of poverty and loneliness. From his retreat in Hyères in 1888 he wrote: "I am too blind to read, hence no reading; I am too weak to walk, hence no walking; I am not allowed to speak, hence no talking." At another time he chronicles "a month in bed; a month of silence; a fortnight of not stirring my right hand; a month of not moving without being lifted—devilish like being dead." He nearly always lived in "the desert of Cough and the ghoul-haunted woodland of Fever." He went to the Highlands of his native country, to the forest about Fontainebleau, to the Mediterranean and the Alps, and to a goat ranch in Mexico or to the Adirondacks, but the best he could hope for was temporary relief. Finally he went on that romantic voyage to the islands of the Pacific where he found some respite, only to meet death a few years later. And yet nothing of all this enters into his writings. If only Amiel, or Byron, or Matthew Arnold had half as much excuse for

disturbing the peace and the repose of the world! There was nothing of the morbid in his temperament. Suffering seemed to make him more sensible of the joy of life. "Sick and well," he said, "I have had a splendid life of it." And again:

> Since I have been sick myself I found life, even in its rough places, to have a property of easiness. . . . I should bear false witness if I did not declare life happy. . . . If I had the pen of Shakespeare I have no Timon to give forth. I feel kindly to the powers that be; I marvel they should use me so well. . . . To have suffered, say, to suffer, sets a keen edge on what remains of the agreeable. This is a great truth, and has to be learned in the fire.

Again, in a letter to Mr. Henley, he says:

> My view of life is essentially the comic; and the romantically comic. "As You Like It" is to me the most bird-haunted spot in letters; "Tempest" and "Twelfth Night" follow. . . . And to me these things are the good; beauty touched with sex and laughter; beauty with God's earth for the background. . . . But the comedy which keeps the beauty and touches the terrors of our life (laughter and tragedy in a good humor having kissed), that is the last word of moved representation; embracing the greatest number of elements of life and character; and telling its story, not with the one eye of pity, but with the two of pity and mirth.

Although now and then in his letters a sigh can be heard in the main he found in life all that strong and able-bodied men have found, and he practically demonstrated "the great theorem of the livableness of life." He said in the last months of his life, when death seemed very near, "And still it's good fun." One thinks constantly in reading Stevenson of the passage in Browning's "Saul" beginning, "O, the wild joys of living!" The secret of this faith was in his gift of humor, which enabled him to see things in a healthy way; in his essentially boyish nature, which never let him forget the wonder of the world; in his love of adventure, that kept his heart and mind always on the lookout for new experiences and new observations. He had much of Kipling's interest in all kinds of men and women; he, too, "found naught common on God's earth." In all the romances and in the letters one is constantly made aware of his intense humanity. He has left some exceedingly beautiful descriptions of the vari-

ous places that were his homes, each one of which was a kind of new paradise to him; but his preeminent interest was in the people, whether he met them on a cattle ship, or on the ranches of the West, or in the society circles of Newport, or among the natives of the South Sea islands. Writing to Henry James of his voyage across the Atlantic, he says:

> Sixteen days at sea with a cargo of hay, matches, stallions, and monkeys, and in a ship with no style on, and plenty of sailors to talk to, and the endless pleasures of the sea—the romance of it, the sport of the scratch dinner, and the smashing crockery, the pleasure and endless pleasure of balancing to the swell.

It is noticeable that Stevenson's interest in the men and women of cities was not so strong as in those of a ruder and more daring type, the unconventional and unknown. The fact is he was an adventurer, a man of the epic times; one who in other days would have been a pirate, an explorer, or a soldier. "Life is far better fun," he says, "than people dream who fall asleep among the chimney stacks and telegraph wires." In making an analysis of his character he said that he was fifty-five per cent artist and forty-five per cent adventurer. Books he found a "mighty bloodless substitute for life." After coming across the Atlantic in 1887 the thought of a yacht was never out of his mind. He wrote to Sidney Colvin, "Is there any Greek isle you would like to explore, or any creek in Asia Minor?" Finally, as if by a flash of inspiration, came the project of going to the South Sea islands. Here is his own account of his decision and the success of the voyage:

> For nearly ten years my health had been declining; and for some time before I set forth I believed I was come to the afterpiece of life and had only the nurse and the undertaker to expect. . . . [Later] I had gained a competency of strength; I had made friends; I had learned new interests; the time of my voyages had passed like days in fairyland.

These last years in Samoa—his new hold on life, his new zest for life, his life of active service in establishing a new home, his kindly interest in all the affairs of the native tribes, the building by some native chiefs of the "Road of the Loving

Heart" in gratitude to him—these are bits that the world will not willingly let die. Two quotations from the many letters written will give the reader some idea of Stevenson's life during the four years spent at Vailima. One is to Colvin:

> This is a hard and interesting and beautiful life that we lead now. Our place is in a deep cleft of Vaea Mountain, some six hundred feet above the sea, embowered in a forest which is our strangling enemy and which we combat with axes and dollars. I went crazy over outdoor work, and had at last to confine myself to the house or literature must have gone by the board. Nothing is so interesting as weeding, clearing, and path-making; the oversight of laborers becomes a disease; it is quite an effort not to drop into the farmer; and it does make you feel so well. To come down covered with mud and drenched with sweat and rain after some hours in the bush, change, rub down, and take a chair in the veranda, is to taste a quiet conscience.

The other is his invitation to Barrie to visit him in his island home:

> They tell me your health is not strong. Man, come out here and try the Prophet's chamber. . . . The house is three miles from town, in the midst of great silent forests. There is a burn close by, and when we are not talking you can hear the burn and the birds, and the sea breaking on the coast three miles away and six hundred feet below us. . . . Take it for all in all, I suppose this island climate to be by far the healthiest in the world; even the influenza entirely lost its sting. . . . Come, it will broaden your mind and be the making of me.

But Barrie never came, as we have already seen. Stevenson died in 1894. The account of his last hours has been vividly told by his stepson, Mr. Lloyd Osbourne—the sudden death, and the beautiful funeral service followed by the long march up the mountain side on whose summit he wished to be buried. The lines of Browning's "Grammarian's Funeral" most fitly express one's feelings about that final journey:

> Here—here's his place, where meteors shoot, clouds form,
> Lightnings are loosened,
> Stars come and go! Let joy break with the storm,
> Peace let the dew send!
> Lofty designs must close in like effects:
> Loftily lying,
> Leave him—still loftier than the world suspects
> Living and dying.

Though his religion was one of action rather than of definite creed, Stevenson was an essentially religious man. One of the most painful experiences of his life was a temporary estrangement from his father on account of his views of the Scotch creed. He had said then, "They don't see, either, that my game is not the light-hearted scoffer; that I am not, as they call me, a careless infidel." He objected to the harshness of the creed. "Till you can see pleasure in these hard choices and bitter necessities," he writes his mother, "where is there any good news to men?" He, however, remained a "child of the Covenanters" although he gave up the forms of their religion. He practically, though not perhaps consciously, came to the religion preached in these latter days in Scotland by Maclaren, Crockett, Drummond, and George Adam Smith. Certainly one of the finest interpretations of his art is distinctively religious in its tone: "Aye, but you know until a man can write that Enter God he has made no art. None. Come, let us take counsel together and make some." The night before his death he repeated with his household the following beautiful prayer. It has been echoed in the hearts of many people since it was published in 1899:

> We beseech thee, Lord, to behold us with favor, folk of many families and nations gathered together in the peace of this roof, weak men and women subsisting under the covert of thy patience. Be patient still; suffer us yet a while longer;—with our broken purposes of good, with our idle endeavors against evil, suffer us a while longer to endure, and (if it may be) help us to do better. Bless to us our extraordinary mercies; if the day come when these must be taken, brace us to play the man under affliction. Be with our friends, be with ourselves. Go with each of us to rest; if any dream, be their dreams quiet; if any awake, temper to them the dark hours of watching; and when the day returns, return to us, our sun and comforter, and call us up with morning faces and with morning hearts—eager to labor—eager to be happy, if happiness shall be our portion—and, if the day be marked for sorrow, strong to endure it.

So much for Stevenson the man. As a writer he was careful, strikingly unlike his master in romance, Sir Walter Scott, "whose love of the slapdash and the shoddy grew upon

him with success." Stevenson in speaking of Scott said: "Of the pleasures of his art he tasted fully; but of its toils and vigils and distresses never man knew less. A great romantic —a little child." Stevenson never faltered in his efforts to surpass himself. He frequently complained because critics did not see the changes through which he had passed, judging him by his early work. In 1875 he wrote, under the feeling of a temporary discouragement, "I am *pioching* like a madman at my stories, and can make nothing of them; my simplicity is tame and dull—my passion tinsel, boyish, hysterical. Never mind—ten years hence, if I live, I shall have learned, so help me God. I know one must work in the meantime"—words that suggest those of the ill-starred Keats, "O for ten years more of poetry." Both these men realized that the way lay through application, study, and thought, and both were determined to pursue it. Ten years later Stevenson said, "I can only utter a part of what I wish to say and am bound to feel; and much of it will die unspoken." A year before his death he wrote to a friend in France: "No man knows better than I that as we go on in life we must part from prettiness and the graces. We but attain qualities to lose them; life is a series of farewells, even in art; even our proficiencies are deciduous and evanescent."

That he succeeded in attaining a mastery of English prose cannot be gainsaid. Mr. Colvin spoke of his style as "unsurpassed for the union of lenity and lucidity with suggestive pregnancy and poetic animation, for harmony of cadence and the well-knit structure of sentences; and for the art of imparting to words the vital quality of things and making them convey the precise expression of the very shape and color of the thought, feeling, or vision in the mind." A testimony to the same effect is the enthusiastic tribute of Sir John Millais: "To my mind he is the very first of living artists. I don't mean writers merely, but painters and all of us; nobody living can see with such an eye as that fellow, and nobody is such a master of his tools." It was through his novels of adventure that Stevenson first became a popular writer.

Much of his most characteristic work is based on romantic incidents. He took little interest in presenting character studies; he would above all other things tell a story and the more romantic and strange the better. Scott and Dumas even were not satisfactory to him. In 1888 he wrote to Henley:

> But I do desire a book of adventure—a romance—and no man will get or write me one. Dumas I have read and reread too often; Scott, too, and I am short. I want to hear swords clash. I want a book to begin in a good way. . . . O my sighings after romance, or even Skeltery, and O the weary age which will produce me neither.

His best romances, *Treasure Island, Kidnapped, The Master of Ballantrae,* and *Weir of Hermiston,* are an answer to that longing, just as Kipling is the realization of MacAndrew's prayer that God might send a man like Bobbie Burns to sing the romance of steam. In his expression of his own longing for romantic literature Stevenson was but expressing a demand in the minds of all healthy boys and all healthy men who were worn out with the introspective and over-serious literature of the Victorian age. His position in literature is aptly stated by John Jay Chapman in his paper on Stevenson:

> In the early eighties, and when the ideals of George Eliot were still controlling, the figure of Stevenson rose with a sort of radiance as a writer whose sole object was to amuse and entertain. . . . Fiction was entering upon its death grapple with sociology. Stevenson came with his tales of adventure and intrigue—out-of-door life and old-time romance, and he recalled to every reader his boyhood and the delights of his earliest reading.

But it was not only this form of literature that Stevenson used and achieved success in. His books of travel are a valuable record of experiences in many climes and with many people, and the *Child's Garden of Verses* ranks with Eugene Field's books and the *Jungle Books* as an expression of the child nature, and his essays deserve more than a passing notice; to some they are his most interesting work. If in his poems and romances he writes as a boy and in his travels he

writes as a man of adventure, interested only in the ruder and more barbaric phases of life, in the essays he is the refined lover of books, the sane and healthy philosopher, the penetrating and sympathetic critic of literature and life. There is the Montaigne and Charles Lamb and Hazlitt element in his make-up as well as the Scott and Dumas. These names suggest the essays in which he excelled—the autobiographical, the moral, and the critical. He is one of the few men who can write about themselves with perfect taste, and many revelations of his early life are in the volume entitled *Memories and Portraits.* He writes about his family and friends with much of the charm of Lamb—his grandfather in "The Manse," his father in the essay that bears his name, his college life in "College Memories," "A College Magazine," and some of his friends in "Old Mortality" and "Talks and Talkers;" while his own personality is peeping out from all parts of his books. And he was a fine critic. One must go to his *Familiar Studies of Men, Women, and Books* for his best papers, such as those on Thoreau, Burns, Villon, and Walt Whitman, or to the chapters in *Memories and Portraits,* already referred to. As an instance of his critical powers take his estimate of Kipling in 1890. It sounds like a present-day criticism:

> Kipling is by far the most promising young man who has appeared since—ahem—I appeared. He amazes me by his precocity and various endowment. But he alarms me by his copiousness and haste. He should shield his fire with both hands and draw up all his strength in one ball. So the critics have been saying to me; but I was never capable of—and surely never guilty of—such a debauch of production. At this rate his works will fill the habitable globe. . . . I look on, I admire, I rejoice for myself; but in a kind of ambition we all have for our own tongue and literature I am wounded. If I had this man's fertility and courage it seems to me I could heave a pyramid. . . . Certainly Kipling has the gifts; the fairy godmothers were all tipsy at his christening; what will he do with them?

In his moral essays he has a richness and maturity of vision not attained by Kipling—"occasional traits and glimpses of old sagacity, of premature life wisdom and ex-

perience." The best of these are worthy of the best traditions of the English essay. There is not the richness of allusion nor the inimitable blending of humor and pathos that one finds in Lamb's essays, but in the midst of passages that are notable for their purity and clearness come these "purple passages" that reach heights of poetic beauty and wisdom. And the final impression is that healthy, cheerful view of life. Bits of wisdom and good cheer are scattered throughout his best essays in *Virginibus Puerisque, Memories and Portraits,* and *Miscellanies.* A passage from *Aes Triplex* gives in admirable language his view of life and is prophetic of his own death and the spirit in which he met it; it is at once an illustration of his best style and of his healthy optimism:

> It is better to lose health like a spendthrift than to waste it like a miser. It is better to live and be done with it than to die daily in the sick room. By all means begin your folio. Even if the doctor does not give you a year, even if he hesitates about a month, make one brave push and see what can be accomplished in a week. It is not only in finished undertakings that we ought to honor useful labor. A spirit goes out of the man who means execution which outlives the most untimely ending. All who have meant good work with their whole hearts have done good work, although they may die before they have the time to sign it. Every heart that has beat strong and cheerfully has left a hopeful impulse behind it in the world and bettered the tradition of the world. . . . When the Greeks made their fine saying that those whom the gods love die young, I cannot help believing they had this sort of death also in their eye. For surely, at whatever age it overtake the man, this is to die young. Death has not been suffered to take so much as an illusion from his heart. In the hot-fit of life, a-tiptoe on the highest point of being, he passes at a bound on to the other side. The noise of the mallet and chisel is scarcely quenched, the trumpets are hardly done blowing, when, trailing with him clouds of glory, this happy-starred, full-blooded spirit shoots into the spiritual land.

Erin Mims

Art. VIII.—THE INTERPRETATION OF THE SPIRITUAL LIFE.

There is a resolute determination in our present-day thought to apply scientific methods of investigation to every department of knowledge. This disposition has steadily pushed its operations into new spheres. It was but a little while ago when these methods were confined almost exclusively to the physical sciences. The "mental science" of a quarter of a century ago, while it was not wholly lacking in the elements of the scientific method, some of which, indeed, are found as far back as Aristotle, practically ignored the painstaking and detailed induction and experiment which are the distinguishing features of our modern science, the instruments by which it has accomplished its marvelous results. But the "New Psychology" has invaded this ancient realm, and the phenomena of the mind are being studied not simply as reported in consciousness, but in relation to the physical organism through which the mind operates and by which it is largely determined. This application of the methods of scientific investigation to the mental constitution and activities was for a time regarded with suspicion, as smacking of materialistic assumptions. But now these methods are recognized as essential to any adequate study.

Yet more reluctantly has the scientific method been given free place in the field of ethics. We can well remember when such an innocent little book as Oliver Wendell Holmes's *Mechanism in Thought and Morals* was widely regarded as little short of atheistic. But the irritation passed, and now we study man's ethical nature as part of his complex constitution, understanding that character as well as thought has relations with physiology, that moral conceptions have their natural history, and that heredity and environment must be taken into account in moral philosophy and in moral education and discipline.

In another department, namely, the application of the

canons of criticism to the materials of literature and history, the scientific spirit found earlier exercise, its legitimacy was little questioned, and its results were accepted with little opposition. By this method history was lifted out of the empirical stage, and in accordance with its principles all of the great historical works of the last hundred years have been written. But there remained a section, a most important section, of history and literature to the investigation of which these canons of criticism were not applied, to which it was not thought permissible that they should be applied, namely, the library of sacred literature and history comprehended in the Christian Scriptures. While it was freely conceded that all other literature might be subjected to the tests of this criticism, and while many things hitherto accepted as unquestioned facts dissolved into legends and myths under the remorseless logic of this unsentimental process, and whole sections of history required to be reconstructed, it was felt that at the boundaries of the Holy Scriptures the critic must stop: to attempt to subject these revered writings to the searching and cold investigations which were applied to ordinary literature would be presumptuous and irreverent. These writings, it was insisted, were not to be required to give an account of themselves at the bar of human reason as other writings: they bore in themselves, in their own unique character, their sufficient and absolute credentials. Consequently they were not to be questioned, but accepted. It was held that, being differentiated from all other writings in their inspired origin, they were by right of their exalted character exempt from critical inquiry. And the sanctity attached to the writings themselves, growing out of the theory of their inspiration, attached also to their history; it being held that the traditional accounts of their origin and history were products of the same supernatural wisdom that produced them.

But the protest has been in vain. The scientific spirit of the age has not heeded the conspicuously displayed signs about the sacred demesne, "No investigation allowed here," nor permitted itself to be repulsed by the officially commis-

trained theological police that have stood guard at the ancient gateways. We are ceasing to be alarmed about the consequences of this invasion. We are beginning to recognize that these investigators have been prompted not by a spirit of iconoclasm, but by a sincere desire to know the truth. In the light of the problems which Biblical Criticism has raised we are becoming willing in this department, as in all others, to confess that there is nothing sacred but truth, and to perceive that inspiration is one thing and traditional theories about inspiration may be quite another.

But scientific inquiry is taking up another subject which, until lately, has been left quite exclusively to theological discussion, or to merely popular and undisciplined treatment, namely, the subject of spiritual experience. Writers on psychology had not attempted to include the phenomena of the spiritual life in their science, though there is no other phase of the psychical life of mankind more universal or prominent. Several causes have operated to delay scientific investigation in this field. In general it has been due to the traditional theory and feeling that religion is a department *sui generis,* and that to include it as a department of psychology would be derogatory to its dignity and inconsistent with its sanctity. The religious life has been considered in such high sense as transcendental as not to fall under the ordinary categories by which other operations of the mind are governed. The mystical atmosphere by which the religious life has been surrounded has interfered with free investigation. The great emphasis laid upon the supernatural element in the Christian life, with the false notion that the supernatural is in no way correlated with the natural, has given to the phenomena of the religious nature in the eyes of scientific investigators such a character of unnaturalness and unreality that they have passed them by with something of disdain, as things too unsubstantial and visionary to admit of, or to be worthy of, scientific treatment. The same long-cherished views among Christians themselves that sought to hedge their sacred literature about with such a peculiar

sanctity as to deny to literary criticism the right to investigate it has perhaps operated even more effectively to prevent a genuinely philosophical study of the spiritual life. We have been told that here we stand upon such peculiarly holy ground that we should unsandal our feet and uncover our heads; that here we pass utterly beyond the bounds of the understanding into the sphere where only reverent faith is proper; that as the wind bloweth where it listeth, and we cannot tell whence it cometh nor whither it goeth, neither can we understand the deep and mysterious workings of the human soul under the influence of the Spirit of God. Moreover, we are reminded that the Scriptures teach us that the facts of the spiritual life can only be mystically discerned; and that consequently all attempts to reduce them to scientific analysis are not only presumptuous and sacrilegious, but in the nature of the case must be futile. When, therefore, such attempts have been made, they have been resisted as inimical to faith and destructive to religion.

This resentment and resistance seem to grow out of the assumption that religion, in order to maintain its place of influence, must be surrounded with a thick cloud of mystery; and that just in proportion as it is understood it ceases to be reverenced. The unfriendly critics of religion who have observed this nervousness on the part of the apologists for the Christian faith have not been slow to intimate that mysteries closed against free investigation raise the presumption of fraud that fears the disclosures of investigation, and as a matter of history have generally proved to be such. We cannot wonder that many men who have come to the consideration of the phenomena of the religious life with a predisposition to incredulity, perhaps, yet in honest quest of the truth, experiencing the unwillingness of the representatives of religion to submit their testimony to honest and searching cross-examination and to the ordinary tests of reason, have turned away with their incredulity deepened into contempt.

It has come to pass, through the operation of various causes, that a decline of interest has taken place in religious

testimony. In our Methodist Church this is most obviously true. The class meeting long ago lost its original hold. It is impossible in its traditional character to restore it to its pristine power. It is easy to declare that this is due to a general decline in the spiritual life of the Church. But this view is not sustained by a broad and candid survey of Christian society. There are abundant evidences of religious power and vitality. But the experience meeting does not count for as much as it formerly did. The real explanation of this fact, I believe, is that the general though unconscious spread of the scientific temper and habit has rendered the ordinary testimonies concerning religious experience less convincing than formerly. It is no longer conclusive when witnesses, even in large numbers, arise and testify that they have tested a given doctrine by experience. The sincerity of the witness does not render his testimony indubitable, for we have come to know that a perfectly honest and truthful man may misinterpret the workings of his own mind. It is not an end of argument when some one declares that a special providence has been wrought in his behalf in answer to prayer; that he has been healed of physical disease through the exercise of faith; that he has been given direct and specific guidance in the practical affairs of life by a personal revelation of the will of God; that God has witnessed with his heart to the forgiveness of sin; that he has been divinely called to some specific work, such as the ministry; that he has had the meaning of some portion of Scripture revealed to him by special illumination; that he has been set free from the power of some hitherto masterful and tyrannous passion; that he has had removed from him the propensity to evil and been lifted above temptation. All of these things may be facts; the sincerity of those who testify to them may be unquestioned; but their simple affirmation as matters of experience is not conclusive. They are materials to be construed, phenomena to be explained, effects whose causes are to be sought for. The difficulty from the scientific point of view with the great mass of religious testimony is that it is

not simply a deliverance of the individual consciousness, a statement of what is actually experienced, but it is an expression of opinion. The facts are confused with the philosophy. The witness states not simply what he knows to be true, but what he supposes to be so. It is one thing for a person to say, "There came to me such and such a conviction," and quite another for him to declare, "God imparted to me such and such an impulse, or revealed to me such and such a truth." It is one thing to say, "While I was praying, or while I was meditating upon such a passage of Scripture, my sense of guilt suddenly and completely passed away," and quite another to declare, "While I was praying God suddenly said to me, 'Thy sins are forgiven thee.'" It is the whole difference between testimony and dogmatism. One may have no doubt about the experience; but he may not necessarily be required to accept the explanation accompanying the narration of the experience. The explanation may be correct, but that is a subject for inquiry. Experience only furnishes certain states of consciousness; philosophy must account for those states. In other words, the data of the religious life must be distinguished from the interpretation of the data.

Of course, it is not intended that the statement of religious experience shall be reduced to the terms of scientific precision, and that we shall never in the witness we bear concerning our spiritual states go beyond the affirmation of fact to a declaration, directly or by implication, of our convictions concerning the nature of those facts. That would be as absurd and as impossible as that we should refer to the phenomena of nature only in the technical terms of physical science. But this necessity for ordinary speech with regard to spiritual experience no more renders unnecessary or inadmissible the application of scientific tests to the matter of that experience, than the necessity for everyday language with regard to natural phenomena is a bar to a scientific inquiry into the actual laws and order of nature. Indeed, the protest is not a protest against an interpretation of the data of the spiritual life, but against any other than the

traditional and unstudied interpretation which, from long acceptance, has come to be regarded as authoritative. The man to whom comes a sudden impulse to do or say a certain thing, and who declares his impulse to be a divine inspiration, interprets his experience; but such a man is likely to resent any question as to the correctness of his interpretation.

The diffusion of the scientific spirit and the tendency to test all so-called religious phenomena by the principles applied in all other departments is showing itself also in a changed attitude and feeling toward religious revivals and the methods of those who conduct them. The time was, and not far back, when among Christian people generally the striking features of such services—the intense excitement, the cries, the groans, the shoutings, the nervous disturbances resulting in various forms of muscular convulsions and often in long-continued catalepsy—were the direct and intended effects of the workings of the Holy Spirit. Our standard religious histories universally express that view. The biographies and autobiographies of eminent evangelists describe such phenomena as the results of the mighty workings of the power of the Holy Ghost. But the enlightened thought of the present time questions this interpretation. We do not believe, as it was unquestioningly believed at the time, that the "jerks" were produced by the operation of the Spirit. For many months in the city where the writer lives, in connection with meetings conducted by utterly irresponsible evangelists, and characterized by utterances and extravagances of action which are a scandal to Christianity, there have been repeated cases of catalepsy, boys and girls as well as men and women lying for hours rigid and unconscious, and others raving in a delirium of excitement. No one outside the few immediate dupes of the promoters of this mania believes for a moment that these things are wrought by the Holy Spirit. And yet they are precisely the kind of manifestations that fifty years ago were unhesitatingly ascribed to a supernatural cause. Now, a skepticism, not to say a contempt, has sprung up in many minds for all revival agencies and experiences, and it is

more than hinted that all the phenomena of revivals can be accounted for without calling in any agency whatever.

This skepticism and contempt, however, are not wholly justified. It is poor logic to conclude that because a cataleptic state or a spasm or muscular convulsion may be induced by causes which have no ethical or religious value, the presence of these phenomena proves that the ethical, religious, and supernatural are wholly absent from the conditions in connection with which they appear. Catalepsy and muscular convulsions are nervous affections. They may be brought about by any cause which profoundly affects the nervous centers. It is a question of temperament and of that subtle and as yet little understood social-psychic atmosphere which, like an ethereal inflammable medium, connects individual minds in given times and communities, rendering a specific type of feeling quickly contagious. Now a pseudo-religious excitement may act upon this sensitive medium and start the nervous contagion, and there may be nothing of real religious or moral value in the cause or its effects. But a genuine religious awakening may produce the same nervous excitation, following which may come a complete reformation of conduct and regeneration of life. In other words, the nervous shocks are neither religious nor irreligious, they are simply nonreligious; the question of the genuine or spurious religious character of the whole case depending upon the nature of the causes of the nervous shock. A man might receive as great a nervous shock by coming suddenly upon some object which he thought to be a ghost as if he actually encountered a disembodied spirit come to revisit the pale glimpses of the moon. The discovery of the mistake in the first place would not disprove the reality in the second. So we may not conclude that the Holy Spirit is absent from conditions in connection with which certain things occur which at other times happened when he manifestly could have had no causal connection with them. That which is involved in a genuine religious awakening and conversion of a soul to the Christian life, is the bringing in of the consciousness

of guilt, leading to the repentance for sin, and the passing by faith from a state of condemnation to a state of peace and joy. All this the Spirit in the employment of the truth of the Gospel may effect. It may or may not happen that deep and strong emotions may result. But the emotions are mere incidents and accidents.

One thing appears to me as certain—we have made too large a draft upon the miraculous in the interpretation of the Christian life. That is, we have been too much in the habit of regarding Christian experience as made up of a series of miraculous elements, operations wrought upon the soul by specific and extraordinary workings of the Spirit, rather than a life unfolding under the guidance of spiritual laws as fixed and regular as the laws and forces of the material world. This habit has surrounded the religious life with an atmosphere of mystery that may have given it a peculiar interest to some minds; but it has caused it to be regarded by many others as an utterly unnatural, and so an utterly unreasonable, thing. What we are coming to see and what we ought to see more clearly and constantly is that the spiritual is not wholly supernatural, and so that genuine spiritual experience is not necessarily miraculous. I am not saying that the miraculous has never appeared, or that it does not now appear, in the experiences of men and women. I believe that it has come into the regular order of human life from the beginning, that it still does, and that perhaps it may always be a necessity. I believe that the descent of the Holy Ghost on the day of Pentecost was a miracle as the descent of the fire on Elijah's altar was a miracle; I believe that the vision of the Christ to Saul of Tarsus was a reality, and that it was a special and miraculous revelation to him. What I am contending for is that a miracle, which is an exceptional breaking in upon ordinary experience, implies a natural order. If everything in nature were wrought by miracle, then there would be no miracle, for there would be no natural order to form the background of the miraculous. I do not believe the theory that makes the vision of Saul a mere projection of

his inner state, and his conversion, consequently, but a natural crisis to which he came through the workings of his thoughts and feelings. I believe that Jesus Christ appeared and spoke to him. Without doubt the vision came into his mental state with fitness and timeliness, and the shock of that blinding light and that divine voice was delivered at the moment of all moments, neither too soon nor too late, to lay the whole of his previous life-structure in ruins. But it was a miracle, though a miracle which adapted itself to the natural order. But the psychological state which Saul brought to that hour of special revelation shows that there is a natural sphere in the spiritual as well as in the material, that the soul has its laws always operative, and that the miraculous when it comes must adjust itself to the requirements of these laws, and fuse itself with this natural order.

Natural science in its recent developments has greatly helped us to a more rational conception of the life of the soul by showing us that the natural does not exclude the presence and power of God, but rather that it implies and requires them. The result of the great discoveries in the world of matter that characterized the last century has been to bring in upon the minds of scientific students and investigators the sense of the divine immanence—not any vague, pantheistic sentiment, but a conviction that a personal Intelligence, and an intelligently directed power, are in all the movements of the natural world. Scientific men, with but few exceptions, do not now think of matter as a thing self-sufficient, which furnishes its own explanation, whose properties and powers are inherent and intrinsic, and requires nothing outside of itself to account for its activities. The material world of the present is shot through with higher meanings to the eye of the man of science. As he has penetrated more and more deeply into the hidden essences and laws of matter, it has ceased to be the coarse thing that it was once considered. Matter has become more and more ethereal in the hands of science, its hard lines are breaking down and fading out perpetually into the realm of the unseen and the impalpable, and at a thou-

and points suggesting that it is but the wavering, dissolving veil of an order of being back of it, of which all of its phenomena are manifestations. Hence the spirit of the science with which we have entered the twentieth century, for greater achievements than have been wrought in all the past, is a reverent science. What Linnæus said concerning the feelings which came to him as he watched the opening of a flower, "I saw God in his glory passing before me, and I bowed my head in worship," is being said by thousands of scientific men who watch the manifold and marvelous operations that are going forward in every department of the material world.

With this spiritualized conception of matter there is no longer felt the necessity for the miraculous that was felt when matter was thought of as standing in extreme antithesis to spirit. It is not that the old thought of the supernatural, in all that is of essential worth in it, has been reduced from its high level; rather it is that the natural has been lifted up toward the heights of the supernatural. The effect consequently upon the thought of the world has not been to see less but more of God in the world. In all the order of the universe, in the play of all its forces, in the deepening wonder of all its processes, God is seen. This changed conception of the world, brought about unquestionably by the progress of physical science, ought to be gratefully recognized by the religious world. For the present deep conviction of the immanence of God has been effected not by the arguments of the philosophers and theologians, but through the revelations of the laboratory and the observatory.

A similar change is taking place in the field of purely spiritual science, and largely as the reflex influence of the new conception that has come into the field of natural science. The immanence of God in spirit is being more distinctly recognized. The perception that the soul has its laws of life, which may be studied and measurably understood, as the laws of matter may be understood, is becoming constantly more distinct; and that to this life of the soul God sustains a fundamental relation as he does to matter; and consequently

that all of its processes and phenomena are carried forward and produced under the direct and constant influence and guidance of the divine presence and power. In consequence we are coming to have a broader conception of man's spiritual life. Formerly we limited our conception of it to what we called the religious nature proper, and saw its manifestations only in its acts of worship. Now we are coming to see that God is present in the soul not simply in adoration and prayer, is not simply the inspiration of reverence and the inner light of the conscience, but just as truly in all the operations of the mind. "There is a spirit in man, and the inspiration of the Almighty giveth them understanding." "In Him we live, and move, and have our being." We do not simply pray and praise under the influence of the Spirit, but we do all our thinking under that influence also. Hence the old distinction between Psychology and Pneumatology is disappearing. The life of the soul is a unity, and we are ceasing to think of God as confined to a limited class of its phenomena. God is immanent in the whole of the immaterial as well as in the material realm.

J. F. McFarland

Art. IX.—THE EVOLUTION OF FREEDOM IN MEXICO.

The same keen expectation fills the soul of the traveler as his gallant ship brings him to the shore of the land of the Montezumas that thrilled his being when, for the first time, he saw the palms and pyramids of Egypt, or the empurpled hills of Palestine. It was just before dawn one November morning in 1901 that I beheld the outlines of old Mexico, a land of romance and chivalry, of persecution and bloodshed, of squalor and splendor, of poverty and wealth; a beautiful country, unsurpassed in the versatility of its scenery and in the variety of its climate; with its high mountains and fertile valleys, bursting with ores of fabulous richness and bending into harvests of extraordinary abundance. At that early morning hour it was already sunrise upon Mount Orizaba, lifting its snowy crest to a dizzy altitude of more than three and a half miles, and its diadem was resplendent with opals and amethysts of bewitching beauty. It seemed like a monument. Formerly it was a grim sentinel patiently standing guard over the gateway to an earthly paradise into which another fiendish marauder had come. Now, in majestic silence and symmetry, it is nature's own memorial to multitudes who perished in a long struggle for freedom.

Nearly all great movements for the amelioration of men have had initial simultaneous agitation in hearts and places far remote from each other, and apparently without co-operation. It argues the unity of the race—of nature and the Creator. When John Ball, the mad priest of Kent, was leading the peasant revolt, hurrying his martyrdom and preparing for the overthrow of serfdom in England; when John Huss was suffering as a sacrifice to appease the bloodthirsty persecutors of the true faith; when Giordano Bruno's precious dust was cast by fiends incarnate upon the muddy Tiber, the shores of Texcoco and the temples and palaces of Tenochtitlan were adorned with the virtues and institutions

of a liberty-loving people. By the survival of the fittest, they were developing a brilliant type of popular government, whose description has taxed the skill and the rhetoric of the historians. Whether the early Mexicans were descendants from the Aztecs or Toltecs; whether they came up from the plateaus of the south, or descended from the cliff-dwellers of the north; whether they reached this continent by the straits of the northwest, or came over dry-shod by the Isthmus of Atlantis, before that fabled continent passed into watery oblivion; whether the race was autochthonic or exotic; whether they were to the manner born or were the first daring immigrants to reach these western wilds, fascinating as these inquiries are, it is not within the limits of this discussion to treat. It is not certain whether the national escutcheon commemorates a fact, or preserves a pretty legend, as it perpetuates the story of the bald eagle resting upon a prickly-pear cactus, holding a venomous serpent in its bill, but it is quite authentic that reliable records begin with the year 1325. Here upon these fertile table-lands, eight thousand feet above the sea level, with one of the choicest climates of the globe, they began to establish themselves. The two perpetually snow-covered mountains, rising sixteen and seventeen thousand feet, were regarded with religious awe and accepted as faithful guardians. Undisturbed for two hundred years, these energetic Indians dwelt in comparative peace, invading surrounding tribes only when human sacrifices were needed in the worship of Huitzilopochtli, their war god. They elaborated their city with homes and aqueducts and avenues. There was a Venicelike beauty about some of the streets, whose canals were supplied from the waters of Texcoco. They were acquainted with astronomy, as the calendar stone indicates, and were familiar with surgery and skilled in agriculture. They had written laws and elected their judges for life, but were ignorant of the plow, printing press, and gunpowder. The painstaking historian Prescott may have been, as it has been charged, "more creative than critical, and more interesting than accurate," but when all adjustments

shall have been made to subsequent archæological and ethnological conclusions it still remains true that William H. Prescott has presented to literature the most fascinating and reliable stories of this era of Mexican civilization. That was a sad day for Prescott, but a propitious moment for the world of letters, when in his seventeenth year, as a junior at Harvard, he lost his sight by the thoughtless act of a student, who threw a piece of bread at random. But the sublime law of compensation gave him the inner sight and developed his will, and blessed him with exquisite literary style. His pen was at once a quill and an artist's brush, a poet's pencil and a sculptor's chisel.

The year 1500 found these Indians infatuated with a love for their country. They were following the behests of their goddess of liberty, and constantly reaching nobler ideals of a popular form of government. But the peace of the country was soon to be disturbed, and the evolution of their liberty was destined to be cruelly checked. Allured by a desire for conquest and urged by greed and covetousness, Hernando Cortez drew up his ships at these shores, which he falsely named, as his base actions subsequently proved, Vera Cruz. It was on Good Friday, April 21, 1519—surely a dark day for Mexican liberty. That Cortez was brave it is but fair to him to remember, but that he was a monster of cruelty and bigotry it is also only just to history to record. He brought with him six hundred soldiers as heartless as himself. Their leader was able to hold them together only by burning the ships so that they could not leave him, and by extravagant promises of the spoil and treasure which soon should be theirs from the conquered Mexicans. Montezuma received Cortez as coming on a friendly mission, but was soon betrayed by Spanish brutality, and either died suddenly from a broken heart, as a prisoner in the palace whose hospitality had been accepted by Cortez, or was summarily disposed of by the invader. The Spaniard easily vanquished the natives with gunpowder. Mexican liberty was, indeed, rebuked. The leaders were persecuted and slaughtered, and Spain's record

for crime was atrociously maintained. When Cuauhtemoc, the successor of Montezuma, was captured, addressing Cortez, he said promptly: "I have done all I could to save my people, but have failed. Draw, then, that dagger from your belt and set me free!" But, instead of thus humanely disposing of his captive, Cortez, prompted by covetousness and the clamoring of the soldiers for spoils, in order to extract from brave Cuauhtemoc the secret hiding place of the treasures of the government, saturated the captive's feet in oil and suspended him over a slow fire; and when the Indian persistently maintained his silence he was hanged by the diabolical conqueror. Then began three hundred years of Spanish tyranny—bloody centuries of superstition, and inquisition, and usurpation, and Jesuitical treachery, and ecclesiastical imperialism, and oppressive taxation, and brutal schemes of deceit and slavery and selfish aggrandizement—which have given Spain, the butcher among the nations, such an unenviable and inglorious history. Truth cannot be burned with fire or drowned with blood. Persecution may retard, and bigotry may imprison, but truth, like the grain of corn in the mummy cases of Egypt, bears in itself the power of procreation, the germ of endless life. The anvil wears out the hammer! A day is but a thousand years, a thousand years but a day. Truth knows no climate and no calendar. Its boundaries are the boundaries of life, its limitations the limitations of the Infinite—for truth is God and God is truth. There is no true philosophy of history except the descent of truth. Before truth dynasties are overturned and potentates are dethroned, and empires builded upon eternal hills pass away as a tale that is told. Israel waited four hundred years for Moses; Europe, five centuries for Luther. England and Italy and Switzerland longed for Wyclif and Savonarola and Calvin; Great Britain and America, through two centuries of groanings and humiliations, for Wilberforce and Wesley, for John Brown and Abraham Lincoln. Men are but the incarnation of the spirit of their age; infidelity blows its blatant blasphemies into an Ingersoll, but faith builds its

imperishable Gospel into an Edwards, a Beecher, and a Simpson!

Mexico's deliverer was inevitable. Three hundred years of agonies, of slaveries, of bigotries worse than paganism, of sacrifices more than those on the sacrificial stone to the war god—all this woe and suffering, joined with hopes and dreams and prophecies, was preparing the way. What is in the blood cannot be eliminated by the conqueror, however cruel. He may assuage his thirsty sword with the blood of the dying, but wherever there is life there is blood, for blood is life. And a people's traditions and innate purposes live in their blood. "Blood is thicker than water." The only way to destroy a liberty-loving people is to murder the last man and the last child. Liberty is true to type, and the reversion is inevitable; God made it so. If liberty survives in a single fireside it will some day scepter the earth. At last the day came—the beginning of the end of this mediæval diabolism. A Mexican Luther appeared in the person of Hidalgo, the scholarly priest of the parish of Dolores, near Guanajuato. He has been called "the father of Mexican independence." The story of his struggle is a classic in the records of heroism. The brave men of his parish rallied about him, and on September 16, 1810, a blow was struck for Mexican liberty, and a stand was taken from which the patriots of the country never retreated. Noble Hidalgo suffered martyrdom in less than a year at Chihuahua, but truth, as the hands on the dial, does not go backward. The honorable succession was seized by another priest, Morelos, called "hero of a hundred battles." He valiantly carried forward the cause of independence, rendering heroic service for four years, when he, too, was executed by the enemy. But it has always been easy for men to fight and die for their country, and these two martyrs led a remarkable company of irrepressible patriots; and the succession of men who were ready for struggle or sacrifice remained unbroken. The triumphant and knightly march of liberty was interrupted by the effort to establish the two empires, the first under the vain and

selfish Iturbide, who had himself elected in 1822, and the other under Maximilian in 1864.

The mention of the name of Maximilian, this handsome and gentle and humane and patriotic prince, who declined the throne of Austria to respond to what he was persuaded by the pope to believe was a call of duty, fills our hearts with tenderest sympathy. He and his beautiful wife, Carlotta, were victims of a perfidious and avaricious scheme of Napoleon the Third to build up a great dependency and valuable vassalage on this continent. It was a colossal undertaking to stop the wheels of progress and to confine liberty in a European sarcophagus. Maximilian was not a criminal, but he was a willing tool. At thirty-two he was dizzy with shadowy dreams of the greatest empire the world had ever seen. He was weak and too confiding. All the ambitious and avaricious plans of Napoleon depended upon the success of the Confederacy. When freedom was dethroned in the United States, and the Stars and Stripes had been washed out in the rebellion and a new banner unfurled in its place, then France and the South and Mexico would present such a mighty front to the advancing tide of popular self-government as to be able to check and change the current of the ages. What idiots ambition makes of men! Napoleon victor in Mexico no more harmonized with the law of the nineteenth century than Napoleon victor at Waterloo. It was time for this Napoleon to fall. Secretary Seward's famous letter resulted in the immediate withdrawal of the French army, and they were quite willing to leave the "pie claim" uncollected. The incident of Appomattox had read a new meaning into the Monroe doctrine, and the dilettante erstwhile emperor of France developed sudden respect for the American eagle. At his execution, in 1867, Maximilian was not promoted to the rank of a martyr—his was no sacrifice for liberty; he was the sad victim of the schemes of designing men, and lost his life because he lacked foresight and virility. He was crushed beneath the wheels of the chariot of progress, because he was traveling in the opposite direction and did not pos-

the skill of the statesman or the agility of the politician to avoid inevitable disaster.

The God of freedom is a consummate strategist. Simultaneously with the revolution led by Hidalgo a child was born in an obscure hamlet in the mountains of Oaxaca, who was destined to become the most remarkable and epochal man of his country. There was not a drop of Spanish blood in his veins. He belonged to the Zapoteca tribe of Indians. In the school of poverty and struggle he developed strength. The principles of freedom were bounding through his being. Until he was twelve years of age he was unable to read or write, and spoke only the dialect of the Indians. He was born in the year 1806. As he entered his teens opportunities for study were afforded him, and it is one of the surprises of biography that one so circumscribed in his boyhood should so early in life master great problems and rise with phenomenal rapidity in the profession of law which he had chosen. He became a champion of the liberal party, and an eloquent spokesman and defender of the liberties of the Mexican. He was a master of jurisprudence, and in 1857 was elected to the presidency of the Supreme Court of Justice, during the administration of Comonfort, and was in direct succession to the presidency of the republic. He was no other than Don Benito Juarez, Mexico's greatest patriot, reformer, general, and statesman. Juarez taught his multitudes of admiring followers to resist not only the encroachments of inimical foreign governments, but he bravely led them in a tremendous effort to throw off the yoke of ecclesiastical oppression and bigotry which had held the country in intolerant slavery for more than two centuries. He espoused the separation of Church and State, and showed, by the records of history and the present condition of the people, the curses and ignorance which rested upon all priest and pope ridden countries. Though reared in the Roman Church, and at one time about to enter the priesthood, this shrewd statesman soon discovered that Romanism was not in sympathy with the liberty for which Mexican patriots were aspiring. The Church

Party early learned to fear him, and once, while he was a student, imprisoned him for his advocacy of liberal ideas. Santa Anna exiled him in 1853, and in poverty he lived for two years in New Orleans; but here in this country he studied the institutions and laws and liberties of a republican form of government and saw some of his dreams magnificently materialized. In 1857 this Mexican Cromwell led his people in the adoption of the famous reform laws, to which important additions have since been made and which are in force to-day. I am indebted to Dr. John W. Butler, of the city of Mexico, for the following synopsis of these laws:

The absolute separation of Church and State. Congress inhibited from the passage of any laws establishing or prohibiting any religion. The free exercise of religious services; the State should not give official recognition to any religious festivals, save the Sabbath as a day of rest. Religious services were to be held only within the place of worship. Clerical vestments were forbidden on the streets. Religious processions were forbidden. The use of church bells was restricted to calling the people to worship. Pulpit discourses advising disobedience to the law, or injury to anyone, were strictly forbidden. Worship in churches should be public only. Gifts of real estate to religious institutions were declared unlawful, with the sole exception of edifices designed exclusively for the purposes of the institution. The State would not recognize monastic orders nor permit their establishment. The association of Sisters of Charity was suppressed in the republic; the Jesuits were expelled and not allowed to return. Marriage was a civil contract and to be duly registered; the religious marriage ceremony might be added. In addition to this, the new constitution provided for the confiscation of all Church property including cathedrals, churches, chapels, convents, etc.; aggregation, $200,000,000. This was on the ground that these immense properties had been unjustly wrung from the people. The title for all Church property is now vested in the government, and it is leased to the Church for a term of ninety-nine years.

What an illustration is this of the final supremacy of right over wrong! Let not the direful oppression of the Mexican be charged against true Christianity. One of the colossal sins of the Spanish butcher is that he has carried on his cruel inquisitions and committed his foul crimes with the cross of Christ as his symbol and hiding place. This is the monstrous crime for which Spain to-day is suffering in the loss of every possession on the Western Hemisphere, and the gradual but certain disintegration of the home government. As was Babylonia, so has Hispania been weighed in the balances and found wanting. To a native Methodist minister, Juarez once said, "Upon the development of Protestantism largely depends the future of our country."

Let it not be supposed that the oppressions of the Church have ceased. In a book entitled *Mexico as It Is* the author, Abbé Domenech, himself a Roman Catholic and chief chaplain of the French army, in referring to the priesthood of Mexico, says: "They make merchandise of the sacraments and make money by every religious ceremony. One of the greatest evils in Mexico is the exorbitant fee for the marriage ceremony. The priests compel the poor to live without marriage by demanding for the nuptial benediction more than a Mexican mechanic, with his slender wages, can accumulate in fifty years of strictest economy. This is no exaggeration." Though these evils are being corrected to some extent by the large number of Protestant workers, yet I was told by some of our clergy that in the hill and rural districts these avaricious methods of the priests still prevail, and one of the most important things being accomplished by Protestant missionaries in Mexico to-day is in securing the marriage of multitudes of poor people who, for the reason above mentioned, have never been legally joined together.

With the establishment of the ephemeral second empire under Maximilian the republican government was compelled to flee before the French army. Under the leadership of Juarez they established themselves near the northern border, in Chihuahua and elsewhere; and, finally, pursued by Napo-

leon's imperial army, crossed the Rio Grande and found refuge in the United States, ever "the land of the free and the home of the brave," with its doors always wide open for the oppressed of every clime. Here they remained until Napoleon the Third forsook Maximilian and withdrew his army. Then Juarez, at the head of a mighty host of patriots, swept from the North and triumphantly entered the city of Mexico on the 15th day of July, 1867. The next month a constitutional election was held, and Juarez was unanimously chosen for the presidency. Under his skillful leadership the government and people recovered from the delirium of the second empire, additions were made to the reform laws now again in successful operation, and the ship of state once more launched in prosperous seas. Juarez became the idol of the masses. He was masterful without being imperial, firm but not tyrannical, ambitious but not selfish, aggressive but always reverential. In his first proclamation after the withdrawal of the French he said:

"Let the Mexican people fall on their knees before God, who has deigned to crown our arms with victory. He has smitten the foreigner who has oppressed us sorely. He has established these his people in their rightful place. For he who has his habitation in the heavens is the visitor and protector of our country, who strikes down those who came to do us ill. The Excellent, the Only Just, Almighty, and Eternal One, is he who hath dispersed the nations which like vultures had fallen on Mexico."

No man has done more for the cause of freedom than Benito Juarez. Though his translation occurred in 1872, yet his name is oftenest upon the lips of the enthusiastic citizens of this promising and prosperous republic. Annually the multitudes crowd to his mausoleum, and every patriotic and fraternal society leaves an emblem of affection. Juarez became deathless when he died. The story of his sacrifice and achievement is daily rehearsed to the youth, and the victories of the Mexican Washington are the inspiration of the young and old of that long-oppressed nation.

In the radiance of his memory the people are surrendering superstitions by which they were long controlled. For instance, the picturesque story of the miraculous apparition of the Virgin at the Guadalupe cathedral, though firmly believed by the peasants, is accepted as a legend by the educated Mexicans. An artist in the city of Mexico, who painted a picture for a friend of mine, said that though it is claimed by the priests that the painting of the Virgin had never been renewed in all the three hundred years since it came upon the serape of the peasant, Juan Diego, yet he had himself retouched it within recent months.

Under the spell of the name Juarez the commercial and political conditions grow more and more auspicious. With its asphaltum streets and electric lights and cars, its beautiful drives and handsome residences and business blocks, Mexico city is rapidly becoming a modern metropolis. And because of the courage and wisdom and faith of Juarez a vast country is opened to pure Christianity. No more fruitful field to-day invites the messengers of the Nazarene, and no people are more grateful than these dusky neighbors for an introduction to the tender love of the world's Saviour and the sublime truths of his sweet Gospel. Long live Benito Juarez, "the little Indian," in the memory and affection and institutions and patriotism of the Mexican republic!

Charles Edward Locke.

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENTS.

NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS.

DR. E. H. SEARS, speaking of the miraculous, says:

The power of the Gospel to create anew has been the standing miracle in all the Christian ages. This is its highest and most divine authentication. Celsus was right, looking from his own point of view. No mere human culture can change the *nature* of man. It can only cover over, civilize, and adorn. But those in whom sin has become a second nature are the very persons in whom the Gospel has wrought its most wondrous transformations, from Paul and Augustine down to the Wesleyan revival of the last century and the most remarkable conversions of to-day.

THE Mormon system is a growing menace to many sacred interests; a menace to free government by its priestly oligarchy; to property rights by its grasping priestcraft; to pure morality by its varied vice; to true home life by its divine and human polygamy; and to Christianity by its heathen doctrines and practices. It controls politically at least five States and Territories, and is everywhere aggressive. Inexpensive and effective literature exposing its fallacies, frauds, and abominations can be obtained from the Utah Gospel Mission, 739 Republic Street, Cleveland, O. A sample packet of leaflets will be mailed for eighteen cents.

DR. HERRICK ON WESLEY AND METHODISM.

NOT often has so complete and picturesque a sketch of a great man and a great movement been put into twenty-three pages, as is found in the closing lecture in Dr. S. E. Herrick's vivid volume, *Some Heretics of Yesterday*. Concerning Wesley on his intellectual side, the following is written:

His scholarship was of fine quality. He was Greek lecturer in Oxford University, and fellow of Lincoln College, at twenty-four years of age. He was the peer, in his intellectual endowments, of any literary character of that most literary period. No gownsman of the university, no lawned and mitered prelate of his time, was intellectually the superior of this itinerating Methodist—a bishop more truly than the Archprelate of Canterbury himself in everything but the empty name. The hosts of literary pamphleteers and controversialists that rained their attacks upon his system, in showers, were made to feel the keenness of his logic and the staggering weight of his responsive blows. It is a fine sight to look upon from this distance, that of this single, modest man, an unpre-

tentious knight of true religion and consecrated learning, beset for forty years by scores, yes, hundreds, of assailants, armed in all the ostentation of churchly dignity, shooting at him with their arrows of tracts and sermons; newspaper writers pouring upon him their ceaseless squibs; malicious critics assailing his motives and his methods with innuendoes and false suggestions; ponderous professors tilting at him with their heavier lances of book and stately treatise; and he, alone, giving more than thrust for thrust, and his brother Charles furnishing the inspiriting accompaniment of martial music until the one man chased a thousand and the two put ten thousand to flight.

Of Wesley as the apostle of a mighty religious awakening and reformation, Dr. Herrick has this to say:

When but thirty-six years old he had already leavened, with a redemptive force, the social life of his century. His apostolate continues through more than fifty years. The story which Paul gives of his labors and sufferings in the eleventh chapter of his Second Epistle to the Corinthians might have been adopted almost literally by Wesley as the record of his own. Indeed, I think the story of the English apostle is the more wonderful. There must be many a field in Great Britain thick-sown with stones which were thrown at John Wesley and his proto-Methodists. Traveling from four to five thousand miles every year, and preaching from two to four times nearly every day to audiences of thousands; often disturbed by mobs of men more savage than wild beasts; keeping an eye on all his preachers, and receiving their reports; starting a publishing house, and carrying it on, that his people everywhere might have wholesome intellectual fare within their scanty means; taking no money but just what would suffice for his bare expenses; stopping for no storms or floods, fires or frosts; reading and studying on horseback, and answering innumerable assaults through the press, from bishops, archbishops, and ecclesiastical foes of all ranks; compiling grammars in Greek, and Hebrew, and French, and Latin, for his students; editing, writing, translating, or abridging not less than two hundred different publications; eager only, in it all, to save men and to extend the kingdom of God. Half a million souls were to be numbered as his adherents at the close of that fifty years; and outside of this, a vast multitude that no man can number morally and spiritually benefited by his movement. *He is, I think, the finest illustration of consecrated, unselfish, whole-hearted devotion, for fifty solid years of this old world's dark history, that the Church of Christ has ever offered to the vision of men.*

Never since early apostolic days was such highly trained, sagacious, flaming, and powerful leadership given to any Christian Church. Ever the vision of that superb leadership burns on at the front, like a lustrous column swaying forward, and the incitement of its high example summons Methodism to follow with like burning zeal and eager, swift advance.

The pictures of England in the century when Methodism arose are not overwrought. A writer in the *North British Review* said:

Never has a century risen in Christian England so void of soul and faith as the eighteenth. It rose as a sunless dawn following upon a

dewless night. There was no freshness in the past and no promise in the future. The Puritans were buried and the Methodists were not born. The philosopher of the age was Bolingbroke, the moralist was Addison, the minstrel was Pope, and the preacher was Atterbury. The world had the idle, discontented look of the morning after some mad holiday; and like rocket-sticks, and the singed paper from last night's squibs, the spent jokes of Charles and Rochester lay all about, and the people yawned to look at them. The reign of buffoonery was past, but the reign of faith and earnestness had not commenced.

Dr. Herrick says that, while this indictment of the age is true, it does not express the full enormity of the facts.

All that was worst in the buffoonery of the Restoration period had been adopted into society that claimed for itself the perfection of respectability and propriety. The buffoon was still there; only the paint had been washed from his face, his motley garb exchanged for decent clothes, and his indecent tumblings laid aside for a gait that was curbed into a stilted and uneasy dignity. The reign of Queen Anne still claims to have been the golden age of English literature, and it shows a polished surface, to be sure. There are Steele, and Addison, and Pope, and Bishop Berkeley, and Samuel Clarke, walking in the garments of literary and social chastity, and Young with his vast religious pretentiousness; but Swift, greater intellectually than any of them, and a high Church dignitary to boot, would have disgraced the license of the Merry Monarch's court and outdone it in profanity. Etherege, and Wycherley, and Buckingham, and Aphra Behn, and even Dryden, made the literature of Charles II's age infamous for all time. Anne's reign produced no such numerous spawn of indecency; but neither did it give birth to any such pure lights of heavenly radiance as Milton, and Izaak Walton, and Bishop Burnett, and Isaac Barrow, and John Bunyan. It was as cold and spiritually lifeless as it was elegant. Licentiousness was the open and shameless profession of the higher classes in the days of Charles; in the time of Anne it festered under the surface. On my lady's table is lying a volume of Bishop Jeremy Taylor's *Sermons*, or his *Holy Living and Dying*. But lift the book, and underneath you will be likely to find the licentious comedies of Etherege showing evidences of more frequent perusal. It was an age of unbounded extravagance and worldliness. Material splendor was a grand passion, and, next to that, indulgence in gross animal pleasure. In order to obtain money for vain display, and to command the greatest amount of vicious gratification, all means were resorted to, and the discrimination between honesty and dishonesty was well-nigh obliterated. Gambling was an almost universal practice, among men and women alike. Lords and ladies were skilled in knavery; disgrace was not in cheating but in being cheated. Both sexes were given to profanity, lewd talk, and drunkenness. Sarah Jennings, Duchess of Marlborough, could swear more terribly than her husband could fight. Gin had been introduced just at the close of the preceding century; its consumption in England rose to seven million gallons before the middle of the eighteenth. And as all fashions work downwards, the middle classes ran the same race of corruption, and the lowest followed eagerly. The wages of the poor were spent in guzzling beer at merrymakings: in wakes and fairs, badger-baitings and cock-fights. Matters were running in very much the same course as they were in France at the same time, a course

which, in the latter country, had its terrific outcome in the Revolution, near the close of the century. And the only thing which, in all probability, saved England from a similar earthquake convulsion was the sudden rise of Methodism, which laid hold of the masses and converted them before they were quite ready for an explosion. That such an explosion did not occur in England, no thanks are due to any religious influence that was exerted by the Established Church, or by the Dissenting interest. The Dissenters had become cold and formal and the Anglican Church was well-nigh moribund. Parsons celebrated the Holy Communion and preached to a dozen hearers in the morning, devoted Sunday afternoon to cards, and hunted foxes the rest of the week with neighboring squires. In many cases the sole religious requisition made upon the clergyman was of a negative sort; he need not even write his sermons, there were sermons enough in the world ready-made; he must only take care not to scandalize the Church by too gross indulgence in political scheming or sensuality. Probably at no period in England's history was the outlook so dark for its moral, social, and religious life. Unless some superhuman force had seized upon England for its immediate purification, it must have sunk into a perdition like that of the Cities of the Plain, or been rent into fragments by some revolutionary explosion from beneath.

When England was in this dire and dismal extremity the divine energy for her redemption and renovation was gathering unsuspected in Oxford University, where four young men, to whom gradually others added themselves, came together of evenings for reading, chiefly the Greek Testament, and for mutual incitement and aid toward consecration of heart and purity of life, in thought, speech, and behavior, in study and conversation, in society and in solitude; diligently cultivating in themselves the spirit and mind of Christ. Dr. Herrick says:

> The effect of all this upon Oxford was much like that which was produced by Christ and his disciples at Jerusalem. Their hours for devotion and study were faithfully kept, and men around called them Methodists, because they lived so methodically. They had regular plans for every day in the week. They rose early to get additional time for charitable work. They visited the workhouse and the jail to instruct the prisoners. They established schools for poor children, and taught them. They refused to spend money in selfish indulgence, that they might help the needy. They sought out those treatises for leisure reading which would aid them to live in the Spirit. They exercised a brotherly and affectionate care for each other's highest welfare. They sought to win young students from vicious courses. They were simply what in these days would be called a Young Men's Christian Association. . . . From this beginning a torch was lighted to flame through England in Wesley's hand for fifty years, and then to be taken from his dying grasp to blaze through all the world till there shall be no more night and the nations shall need no candle, neither light of the sun.

From the little handful of a few grains of corn planted in Oxford, the fruit now, after a century and a half, shakes like

Lebanon and flourishes like the grass of the earth. Of this world-wide fruitage Dr. Herrick writes:

> The Methodists to-day number five millions; and, if we calculate the adherents at thrice the number of actual church-members, there is a total of 15,000,000 of persons under Methodist instruction and influence, and meeting week after week for the worship of God.* In the light of these figures alone, it is not an immodest or immoderate assertion which a historian of Methodism makes when he declares it to be the greatest fact in the history of the Church of Christ; greater than the spread of primitive Christianity in the first two centuries, greater than the Reformation of the sixteenth century—this reformation which began in the days of our grandfathers, and part of which we have witnessed ourselves; a religious movement which has given to America its dominant popular faith, with a standard planted in almost every village of the land; and which is building churches and chapels, year in and year out, at the rate of nearly two every day.

Such is an estimate of John Wesley and his work from outside the Methodist communion.

A HELP TO HIGH LIVING.

It is not easy to grow old gracefully and happily, to come to the natural term of one's days with bands playing and banners flying. Most people make a botch of it, with more or less conspicuousness; and for the simple reason that they fail to grasp the true unity, the real meaning, of life. The purpose of youth, the purpose of age, the relations of youth to age, and of both to the future, as well as to God, they have never seriously considered. The result is that with them advancing years involve advancing gloom. Depression, discontent, rebellion attend their progress through the sobering sixties into the sighing seventies and the aching eighties. They speak of it as going downhill and entering the shadows. They look back with regret, and forward with dread.

For this large and uncomfortable class there is help from a source of which they may not be aware. Let them read Robert Browning's "Rabbi Ben Ezra." But when we say read we really mean study. For only he who has read it perhaps a score of times, who has read it with large thoughtfulness, not only verse by verse, but line by line and word by word, burrowing below the surface, connoting and comparing the various parts, vigorously exercising his mind on the materials furnished by the poet,

* The number of Methodists in the United States is double the number of Roman Catholics.—Editor.

striving to follow the author's swiftly speeding trains of reflection and to fill out the hints somewhat vaguely but lavishly furnished, only he who accepts the doctrines taught and gets into his heart the thoughts conveyed, will be perfectly healed of his malady. But if the directions are followed the cure is certain. The procedure suggested and outlined will give one a view of old age from which all the somber colors have been removed, a view so refreshing and inspiring that he will, with the poet, thank God that he is a man, and thank God also for every part or stage of manhood's manifold evolvement.

The keynote of the poem is found in the first line of the thirtieth stanza, and also in the last clause of the thirteenth: "Look not thou down, but up," "a God though in the germ." Evolution is its basal idea. Optimism is its philosophy. Cheerfulness, courage, hope, and confidence in God are the chords that the author continually strikes with a master hand, skillfully repeating the great theme with variations of surpassing beauty. Perpetually recurring throughout the lines are thoughts and phrases which clearly tell the reader how firm is God's grasp on events, and yet how real is the dignity of human nature. The supremacy of the soul, the high mission of pain, the success of failure, the small worth of the judgments of this world, the overrulings of divine Providence, the right standard of measurement, the solid foundation for contentment, the rich harvest afforded by experience, and the bright, fearless, joyous way in which death should be regarded—these and many other grand lessons are borne sweetly, swiftly in upon the mind on the musical current of this matchless production.

It is, in the fullest sense of the word, as the preceding summary indicates, a religious poem. It cannot be called distinctively Christian, nor is it exactly Jewish, although supposed to issue from the mouth of a Jewish rabbi. Rather is it concerned with those catholic, comprehensive conceptions which underlie all religion worthy of the name. It potters not with special creeds. The rabbi, it is worth noting, who is half addressing some young friend and half moralizing to himself, was a genuine historical character, one of the most distinguished of the Jewish teachers during the Middle Ages, born at Toledo about 1090, but residing chiefly in Italy and England, and dying in 1168. He was eminent as philosopher, astronomer, poet, and

physician, also as a student of grammar and Scripture. He is best known by a series of valuable commentaries, still extant, on the books of the Old Testament. There are some indications that Browning had actually seen these commentaries, and received hints therefrom which he worked up in the poem. However this may be, it is certain that many Scripture passages were present to his mind as he wrote, and were indeed incorporated in the verse. The poem could only have been written by one who had thoroughly assimilated the doctrines of the Bible, and was in fullest sympathy with its spirit as well as intimately acquainted with its letter.

It is a monosyllabic poem. Of the 1,242 words which compose it, no less than 1,062, or 85 per cent, are monosyllables. Of the 88 words making up the first and twelfth verses, only four have more than one syllable. Sixteen other verses have an average of only four words that exceed the same measure. In Browning's "Prospice"—a magnificent hymn of death, an exulting cry of triumph over the last foes, as "Ben Ezra" is a joyous song of life, a pæan of victory over nature's decay—the same peculiarity prevails to an even greater degree. Of its 204 words, 87 per cent are monosyllables. Many other of Browning's finest passages, as his lovers well know, are marked by the predominant, almost exclusive, use of short Saxon words. They lend themselves with peculiar readiness and pertinency to his extremely condensed style, imparting that vigor and strength for which, more than mere prettiness, he stands the prime exponent.

Like so much else that Browning wrote, this poem is a psychical monologue. The aged rabbi gives his views of life to a young friend. Yet the youth's presence is only here and there to be discerned, in the note of direct address and exhortation, serving to give a little variety to the verse. It is very largely soliloquy, more so than most of the other work which is formulated on this general plan. The poet followed a sure instinct of his own in these matters, and was not hampered by arbitrary rules of construction. But whether it is the young who read or those just verging upon age, as was the poet when he wrote the piece, the power of the lines will be quickly felt by all, and impressions of the most uplifting tendency received. No one who follows this leader can have any touch of gloom, or be otherwise than cheery, whatever provocations to the contrary may attend

his steps. In token of this truth we quote the sixth verse, than which few passages on any page in the world's literature are nobler:

> Then welcome each rebuff
> That turns earth's smoothness rough,
> Each sting that bids nor sit nor stand but go!
> Be our joys three-parts pain!
> Strive, and hold cheap the strain;
> Learn, nor account the pang; dare, never grudge the throe!

Is there not an altitude indicated here to which very few have at any time attained? Does not the poet here set before us a standard in completest harmony with the strong expressions of Christ and his apostles? It is one thing to *endure,* with more or less patience, the rebuffs and stings of life, philosophically making up one's mind to them as inevitable, and hence, because of self-respect, not to be fretted at. It is quite another thing to *welcome* them. To do this latter presupposes a faith of the most vigorous sort, a spiritual eye that looks far beyond the present and far below the surface. It implies so keen an appreciation of the paramount importance of character that no throes and pangs are begrudged if such are essential to highest development; accounts them, with Paul, as not worthy to be mentioned when the whole of existence is surveyed. With the apostle, to "glory in tribulation," to "rejoice in distresses and afflictions," is much better, as well as much harder, than merely to be resigned thereto. And this is precisely the exhortation of Browning. He saw clearly and expressed pointedly the great truth that if earth is made smooth for our feet, if we are not prodded and goaded by something uncomfortable in our circumstances, we shall lose sight of the fact that this is not our abiding place in which to sit or even stand, but we must be on the march for the city which hath foundations. It will not do for us to have unmixed joy here, "lest we forget" the rest that remaineth and the bliss of the purified beyond the stars.

Similar teaching as to the necessary uses of trouble are found in other parts of the poem. Man, we are told, is not "formed to feed on joy, to solely seek and find and feast." Such a conception would lower him to the level of the beast who has no higher thought than a full stomach. We are allied with the infinite, gods "in the germ" longing for development, disturbed by "sparks" of the divine fire burning in our bones, and forbidding

us to be satisfied with the flesh. Our aspirations are a comfort and a credit, even though unfulfilled, separating us from the brute; our business is to rise, "not sink in the scale;" the soul must go "on its lone way," independent of the body. And "the dance of plastic circumstance," in which we have been fixed for a season by the Creator, is "machinery just meant to give thy soul its bent, try thee and turn thee forth, sufficiently impressed." Is the potter's hand hard upon the helpless clay, cutting deep grooves as the wheel whirls swiftly, and bringing out in obedience to the "sterner stress" "skull things in order grim"? What matter?

> Look not thou down but up,
> To uses of a cup!

When the consummation is reached, when the cup is perfected as planned, when all the lurking flaws, the warpings and strainings incident to the painful, protracted production are amended, then the wheel of time, no more needed, may "run back or stop," for its work is done. But till then, even though the stress be stern, let the clay be passive in the hand of its molder; nay, let the pang, the throe, the strain, the sting be even received with gladness, because of the end in view, "to slake thy thirst," O God, to give supreme satisfaction to the Master and Maker of all. Surely this lesson is one having most intimate connection with the right management and enjoyment of life, one which, alas, very few thoroughly learn, one for which it were well worth while to read "Ben Ezra" a hundred times, if only thereby it could be brought close home to innermost consciousness.

Another line of conception scarcely less noteworthy and noble for which we are indebted to "Rabbi Ben Ezra" is found in stanzas 23, 24, 25, which run as follows:

> Not on the vulgar mass
> Called "work," must sentence pass,
> Things done, that took the eye and had the price;
> O'er which, from level stand,
> The low world laid its hand,
> Found straightway to its mind, could value in a trice:
>
> But all, the world's coarse thumb
> And finger failed to plumb,
> So passed in making up the main account;
> All instincts immature,
> All purposes unsure,
> That weighed not as his work, yet swelled the man's amount:

Thoughts hardly to be packed
Into a narrow act,
Fancies that broke through language and escaped;
All I could never be,
All, men ignored in me,
This, I was worth to God, whose wheel the pitcher shaped.

The stimulating quality of these lines scarcely needs to be pointed out. Not only here, but in many other places does Browning administer comfort to those who have not grasped the prizes which "the low world" awards to such as it finds "straightway to its mind," and can "value in a trice." He himself had, for the greater part of his life, hard personal experience of this precise situation. The "low world" cared little or nothing for him. His fame was of exceedingly slow growth. He lived long under a cloud of critical hostility. But he never yielded to the popular clamor, neither was he soured and discouraged by it. He kept calmly on his way, patiently abiding his time, and waiting with manly independence for the vindication and recognition which he felt sure eventually would come. It is not surprising, then, that we find breaking forth very frequently in his verse a strain which gives clear evidence of this unconquerable spirit, a defiance of "the world's coarse thumb and finger," an appeal to God as the one who alone can determine true worth. In the seventh stanza of this poem we find, "What I aspired to be, and was not, comforts me." In "Saul" he says, " 'Tis not what man does which exalts him, but what man would do." And in another place, "Aspire, break bounds, success is naught, endeavor's all." He declares, "What I am, what I am not, in the eye of the world, is what I never cared for much." He did not drivel, or fawn, or falter, "never turned his back, but marched breast forward," was chivalrous ever, and cowardly or sycophantic never. It surely is wholesome to breathe this sort of atmosphere. There are but few who, at the coming of old age, do not realize that most of their youthful dreams have vanished, most of their early ambitions are unfulfilled; there are but few who do not feel, with the poet, that there is something in them which has never yet come forth, which men in general have not seen, which has found no fitting outlet or opportunity for manifestation. They feel capable of better things than those which have been set down to their account by earthly measurements, and they find a joy, as does the rabbi of the poem, in thinking of another appraisement where

subtler instruments shall be used, and a juster estimate be made. This is "the paradox which comforts while it mocks," whence "life succeeds in that it seems to fail." None could better afford than Browning to give this cheer and refreshment to his less garlanded brothers, and none has done it in more fruitful phrase.

It would be interesting to know which of the thirty-two stanzas that make up this poem Mr. Browning himself most prized. It is on record that when a lady asked him to write in her album something from "Rabbi Ben Ezra" he wrote the first part of the twenty-seventh verse:

> All that is at all,
> Lasts ever, past recall;
> Earth changes, but thy soul and God stand sure:
> What entered into thee,
> That was, is, and shall be:
> Time's wheel runs back or stops: Potter and clay endure.

The perpetuity of character, together with its overwhelming and incomparable importance, has, perhaps, never been better expressed in such brief compass. To the discerning mind, rightly reading values, the poet would say, Nothing really is, nothing in the deepest sense exists, except that which enters into the constitution of the soul, divine or human. The changing scenes, the situations with which time is crowded—the city's din, the country's beauty, the roar of battle, the quiet of home, the stern gray mountain, the purling brook, even the steadfast stars—are but the fabric of a dream, speedily to pass away except as they may have entered into the mind and heart of man. Certainly it would be well if humanity could get embued profoundly with this exalting truth.

The mutual advantages of youth and age are touched upon in the poem, not extensively but skillfully and sufficiently. The gain of the latter is especially emphasized. While the former is full of "power each side, perfection every turn," where "eyes, ears took in their dole, brain treasured up the whole," the latter may well say, "How good to live and learn," to "see the whole design," to see how Love now fills the scene where Power once had sole control. When "life's struggle" has more nearly "reached its term" we are able to try our gain or loss thereby, and to exclaim, "All good things are ours;" "Young, all lay in dispute; I shall know, being old." This is the main superiority of years. Lifted a little into rest, above the strife, one may at last discern, com-

pare, pronounce upon this or that which long ago was ventured, with the happy reflection, "The future I may face, now I have proved the past."

> As it was better, youth
> Should strive, through acts uncouth,
> Toward making, than repose on aught found made:
> So, better, age, exempt
> From strife, should know, than tempt
> Further. Thou waitedst age: wait death nor be afraid!

Not least among the excellences of this consummate poem is the tone it takes regarding death. The author plainly looks upon this commonly dreaded change as simply the natural completion of the different processes which have passed us on thus far through life from youth to age; regards it merely as the next step in a development which has been hitherto delightful and is likely to so continue. He calls it, in verse 14, a being gone "on my adventure brave and new." Browning was accustomed, in all he wrote, to take this attitude concerning the future, to "greet the unseen with a cheer." It was a part of his true manliness and godliness that he had no concern about dissolution, but ever regarded it as a friend. "Why should we not change like everything else?" he said. "For myself, I deny death as an end of anything. Never say of me that I am dead." Being certain that from this life he should pass to another which was better, how could he fear the transition? With him, as with every true Christian, death was "swallowed up in victory," stripped of its terrors, robbed of its sting, reduced to the level of a mere incident in the onward march of the spirit. He never confounded the cumbering body with the soaring soul, or held anything but the loftiest view as to the latter's celestial destiny.

"Rabbi Ben Ezra" contains many verses most worthy of being committed to memory, as a permanent accession to the mind's treasures and a never-failing source of cheer. Some of them we have quoted; but there is none better than the very first. That with which the poem begins may fitly close this meager description of its unequaled worth:

> Grow old along with me!
> The best is yet to be,
> The last of life, for which the first was made:
> Our times are in his hand
> Who saith, "A whole I planned,
> Youth shows but half; trust God: see all, nor be afraid!"

THE ARENA.

MORE LITURGY AND MORE LIFE.

THE January-February number of the *Review* contained an article with this difference of title: the word "or" was in the place here occupied by the word "and." Probably neither title is the best announcement for an unbiased discussion of the present liturgic experiments in the Methodist Episcopal Church. Nor is this reaching after something more solid, fixed, permanent, confined to Methodism or America. Indeed, the foundation of the discussion referred to is Presbyterian. The "Wesleyan Methodist Guild of Divine Service" leads the movement in England. The liturgical movement is felt in all Churches, and for at least fifteen years has been gathering form and force.

In the paper above mentioned the quotation from John Knox is misleading. This great man engaged in an exceedingly bitter, almost unchristian controversy over the form of liturgy which should be used in Frankfort, Germany, by Protestant Englishmen there exiled, but the question was not the doing away with liturgy, but as to whether Knox's liturgy or that of the Church of England should be used. It is a curious fact that Knox, Calvin, Luther, and Wesley each prepared a liturgy for public worship and Zwingli did not, and the work of the four liturgists outlasted the work of that other marvelous man who neglected this matter. Presbyterianism, like Methodism, honors her founders when using a simple liturgy.

May not the "if" in the following sentence be removed for the mass of congregations? "If congregations are now only critics we should be glad to change to any plan that would make them participants." Where there is no liturgy the congregations may join in two or three hymns and the collection. Otherwise they remain silent. They listen to a prayer, to special music, to the reading of the Scripture, to the sermon, and watch the motions accompanying it. Our congregations do not kneel in prayer. Too often our people sit bolt upright when themselves leading in prayer. But, then, kneeling in prayer is worse than liturgical—it is ritualistic. In truth, the large proportion of the members of our congregations are auditors, rather than participants, and therefore critics rather than worshipers. It is agreed that "at last it is the man who gives success to the services so far as the human side is concerned." Will it not be agreed also that the same man can usually give greater success to a good service than to a poor one? The modern Methodist with liturgical tendencies is also satisfied with "a homiletical service," but he asks that it be so arranged that the congregation has a real and large share therein. The "dramatization of the passion of Christ," which is said to precede "the evils of

sensuous worship," is not found in Lutheranism or Anglicanism, which are the liturgical Churches of Protestantism, and this dramatization is not even hinted at in any proposed liturgy of any of the so-called nonliturgical Churches. "To-day can be trusted to invent its terms in which to properly express its feelings before the Most High." Might not the words "or select" be inserted after the word "invent"? Surely to-day is not compelled to cast aside all the past and use nothing not newly invented. The "homiletical service" of Dr. Allen is not by him contrasted with a liturgical service, as seems to be implied by the author of "More Liturgy or More Life," but is contrasted with the "sacrificial service," or mass, of Catholicism. Witness this: Speaking of the monasteries of the Middle Ages, he says, "They took up the homiletic service of prayer and praise and of preaching or exhortation, developing its features into a system rich and minute in its details, the intellectual or ethical element still retaining the predominance; while in the secular Church the sacrament of the altar was clothed with all the accessories of beauty and splendor and dramatic power which the Christian imagination could devise."* It is not necessary to condemn liturgical development because its impulse "was oriental in its origin." Christianity herself came from the East. We do not follow vagaries of modern "isms" when we turn to the Christian Church of the East for expression of Christian truth. We condemn the mass, not because it is liturgic, or even ritualistic, not because it is from the East, but because it teaches false doctrine. The Protestant Episcopal Church in the Triennial Convention lately held in San Francisco most distinctly refused to abate in the least the uniformity of its liturgy, and was at the same time in decided opposition to the ceremonialistic High Church party. It thus drew a sharp line between the homiletical and the sacramental services.

There is a sneer in the following statement which almost makes its sincerity questionable: "The religious æsthete insists that the artistic test must be applied to find values in worship, as if the Lord set great stress upon beauty rather than sincerity." The author surely knows that no member of the Methodist Episcopal Church desires reduction of sincerity in worship. Nay, he knows that the prime object of the beautifying of service is to win to a greater sincerity therein. "Once we had a plain people, and the worship agreed with their simple lives and tastes." They wore homespun garments. They ate pork, hominy, and corn dodgers. They worshiped in log schoolhouses and in puncheon-floored parlors. We honor the sturdiness of their lives, the fervor of their emotions, the devotion to their principles. We eat beef, lamb, oysters, white bread, cauliflower. We dress in machine-made cloth. We worship in houses set apart for that purpose, in which the wood is not robbed of its strength, though varnished and painted. By comparison with the pictures drawn in pioneer autobiographies

* *Christian Institutions*, p. 438.

we, too, are sturdy, fervent, and devoted. As the simple form of worship of our forefathers agreed with their environment, so should our forms of worship agree with our environment. The substitution of "diagonal" or "English worsted" for "blue jeans" has not killed the body of minister or layman. The compulsion of the old order of service would be exactly as wise as the compulsion of the old-style clothes. "The new garb" will not be the "magnificent cerements in which the dead Church shall be splendidly wrapped," but "the proper vestments in which she shall be meet to" continue on the earthly journey the end of which shall be to "greet her Lord."

"Freedom is toward the supreme effects." Yes, but not anarchistic, lawless freedom. That is ultimately destructive, though frequently valuable in unsettled countries, among reasonable, honest pioneers. True freedom comes by conforming to law. True power results from the use of well-made tools to which the user has become so habited as to wield them unconsciously in the working out of mental idea or spiritual expression. One of the greatest Methodist clergymen on the floor of the General Conference of 1896 expressed the opinion that a reason for the greater power of lay prayers in the generation past over the efforts of the present might be found in the use by our fathers of frequent quotations from the hymns of the Church and from the Psalms—that is, much of the fervor and effectiveness of the great prayers of earlier Methodism was from the use of words and sentences taken bodily out of the worshipful poems of the East, and from the carefully prepared expressions of faith of more modern religious bards. The committed sentence thus used is as truly liturgical in character as though it was read. The primary value of the prayer which is in the hands or memories of the congregation is here found, namely, the knowing what will come next. There is an essential difference between the curiosity which compels attention to a discourse and the motive which will compel an actual spiritual joining with others in united approach to the throne of grace. In the Methodist Episcopal Church Wesley's Sunday service and the use of clerical vestments were discontinued largely because of physical conditions. The per cent of increase in the Church, both of ministers and laymen, during the decade in which an attempt was made to use the prayer book was greater than in any decade since. In fact, from 1784, the date of the adoption of the prayer book, and the beginning of its use, especially in the cities, to 1792, when its use was no longer commanded, the per cent of increase in the membership of the Church was 442. Following the removal of the direction to use the prayer book came the Kelly schism, which had nothing to do with the case, but resulted in a decrease of membership, so that for the decade from 1786 to 1796 the per cent of increase was 270. These figures are without parallel in the later history of the Church. We pleaded for a Twentieth Century Offering of souls of about seventy

per cent of our membership, and after the effort rejoiced greatly that we had a net gain of less than one per cent in membership. When these results are contrasted is it a wonder that occasionally a modern minister questions if the "putting on the fetters" would not be permissible?

To say that if one faces a certain thing he will probably, or even necessarily, continue beyond that point to a ridiculous or disgusting climax is highly illogical. When one expresses belief in sanctification he does not indorse a fanatical view. A turning of the soul toward this experience by no means implies the going to extreme. Those who ask that public worship be enriched rather by the addition of worshipful elements in which the entire congregation may audibly and spiritually join than by multiplying special musical numbers are by no means bound to do away extempore prayer or the essentially homilitical character of the service. "Life is better than liturgy." By all means the worship is better than the falsely called "old-fashioned Methodist" form, or any other form. But equally undeniable is it that a bald, hard, rough, unprepared, spasmodic, unintellectual, merely noisy public worship is not better than a beautiful, harmonious, rational combination of liturgy and prepared extemporaneous leading Godward of the same people by the same minister.

Methodism is great. In her immense body of communicants are found all kinds of congregations—for congregations have individuality, character, almost personality. Each should have that form of public worship most valuable for itself. Is not the Methodist Episcopal Church spiritually great enough to give the largest liberty in this matter, on which we are agreed that it is nonessential? And is not divine charity in the hearts of Methodist Episcopal men of sufficiently high quality not to condemn that which is considered inconvenient or distasteful in form, but in which there lies no heresy, as though it were unchristian and its users despicable? The Methodist Episcopal Church, South, gave formal permission for the use of Wesley's Sunday service, but according to the leading *Advocate* of that denomination the book is not in use by any congregation. Her perfect liberty in this has not proven detrimental. Is it not best of all to have such fullness of spiritual life that no matter what clothing for worship may be worn or what form may be used the same divine face and power shall be seen?

Waverly, Ia. ERNEST VERNON CLAYPOOL.

THE PREEXISTENCE OF CHRIST.

I HAVE read with much interest the admirable contribution of Dr. Terry in the November-December number of the *Methodist Review* for 1901 on "The Miraculous Birth of Jesus Christ," and would dissent from an opinion of an old instructor with a trepidation common to a pupil. But I do not think that Dr. Terry's intimation that "the

preexistence of Christ is more a doctrine than a fact" should pass unchallenged. And while I do not feel competent to discuss the subject myself, I can express my opinion and give a reason for the same, and hope, at the same time, to stir up either Dr. Terry or some one equally competent to give us an elaborate discussion of the subject.

It is due Dr. Terry to say that "the preexistence of Christ" is not the subject discussed in the main body of his contribution; at the same time I do not think it is a subject that can be set aside in so perfunctory a manner.

The preexistence of Christ is a subject not so generally and elaborately written and spoken upon as many other phases of Christology; and yet, as Dr. Terry says in a footnote, it is "a commanding fact, to be duly reckoned with."

Not every accepted doctrine is necessarily an indisputable fact; but every well-accredited fact should be accepted as good doctrine. It seems to me that the preexistence of Christ is a fact as well certified to as any other phenomena of Christology. A fact is a statement of something done, or something that exists, and I think this subject lies so near the realm of such a fact that no fair exegesis can explain it away. I hold to the preexistence of the Christ as a part of my creed (*credo*, I believe) concerning the divine Person. And yet we may humbly acknowledge with Peter that "some things are hard to be understood" (*δυς-νοήτα*, literally, confusion of mind). If appeal is made to reason, pure and simple, I suppose we might be compelled to yield to the rationalist on this question as we might be compelled so to do on some other difficult questions. But what reason cannot amply comprehend, or explain, yet may reason upon, may be apprehended by faith; and reason may rest upon it with a "comfortable assurance." For faith and reason may, in a sense, occupy different spheres, but they intermingle in practical experiences in most intricate ways; nor can they long exist out of relation to each other.

Did Christ, then, affirm his own preexistence? I maintain he did so affirm if his words are correctly reported to us. And to say that his words were not so reported to us, or that they are highly colored by the reporter, affects the genuineness of the records, and that would make the issue substantially different.

I believe, then, that the words of Christ himself, the testimony of others, and the "prestige of the fathers" furnish us firm footing and produce an array of facts as ample as of many other "things that are most surely believed among us." By *a posteriori* method we believe the preexistence of Christ becomes a formidable fact.

First, then, is the statement of Jesus himself. If he did not affirm his own preexistence what interpretation is to be put upon his words, "Before Abraham was, I am"? In his conversation with the unbelieving Jews in that relation (John viii) I do not think he meant to assert priority and superiority to Abraham merely as to

authority, but priority as to time. If, then, he was asserting priority as to time he could have meant nothing less than a preincarnate state, and that, of course, involves the question of his preexistence. And then again: In his last prayer (whether the very last or not is unimportant) before that awful tragedy of the cross, and while its dark shadows were upon his pathway, he prayed, "Father, glorify thou me with the glory which I had with thee before the world was;" and his other words, "Thou lovedst me before the foundation of the world." Now, how could God "glorify" or "love" a person that did not exist? While the soul of the infinite Christ was in such a "strait" we cannot believe he would arrogate to himself a claim not his. These words can mean nothing, so it seems to me, if not preexistence in time and in fact. If it is said that his words are but a "strong figure of speech" and meant to express an "infinite claim" upon the Father's compassion in his (the Son's) time of deep distress and need, then might we also say that any claim of his to be in any sense an extraordinary Person was but a highly wrought figurative expression under given and trying circumstances.

Secondly, the affirmations of others. The opening words of John's gospel are emphatic: "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. The same was in the beginning with God. All things were made by him; and without him was not anything made that was made." These words are plain and the meaning obvious. It is a claim to coequality and coexistence and preexistence with the Father, in every sense, of the Son. This same John in his Revelation calls him the "Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the ending, which is, and which was, and which is to come, the Almighty." He also claims for him "the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world." And he also claims that he is "the beginning of the creation of God." Preexistence seems to be the plain and obvious meaning of all these words. Then we have the statements of Paul. He affirms that Christ "thought it not robbery to be equal with God;" or, as the Revised Version reads, "counted it not a prize to be on an equality with God." The apotheosis is expressed by *ἴσα θεῷ*. And in his epistle to the church at Colosse, Paul repeatedly uses expressions that seem to point clearly to the fact of preexistence. For example: "Ye are complete in him who is the head of all principality and power. . . . In him are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge. . . . In him dwelleth all the fullness of the Godhead bodily. . . . Christ is all and in all. . . . He is the image of the invisible God, the firstborn of every creature. . . . He is before all things, and by him do all things consist." The author of Hebrews affirms that he "hath by inheritance obtained a more excellent name than they" (the angels). "Unto the Son" (as distinguished from all others) "he saith, Thy throne, O God, is forever and ever. . . . Thou, Lord, in the beginning hast laid the foundations of the earth, and the heavens are the work of thy hands." Peter affirms that Christ was "verily fore-

ordained before the foundation of the world;" but better, I think, as the Revised Version reads, "foreknown." This would seem to mean not foreknowledge in thought, merely, but foreknowledge in fact. Every student of Hebrew knows that Gen. i, 1, literally reads, "In beginning Gods" (אֱלֹהִים, Gods) "created the heavens and the earth." This plural form must have meant more than God himself. It is the plain and obvious meaning to associate with the Father, the Son, in the work of creation; and, of course, that implies preexistence.

Thirdly, we have "the prestige of the fathers." At the great Council of Nicæa the Athanasians affirmed that Christ is of the same (ὁμοούσιον) substance with the Father, and not a similar or like (ὁμοίουσιον) substance, as the Arians were wont to affirm. If the eternal existence of the Father is a fact, and if the Son is the same substance with the Father, then Christ's preexistence must follow as day follows night. And this distinction being insisted upon at that great council, Athanasius well deserves the name of "the father of orthodoxy." Christ's preexistence, then, is a doctrine; but it is more—it is a fact. The second article of our creed affirms that Christ "is the very and eternal God, of one substance with the Father." Milton calls him "The Son of heaven's eternal King." And in that sublimest of all poems on the divine Infant ("The Hymn on the Nativity of Christ") he calls him

> That glorious form, that light unsufferable,
> And that far-beaming blaze of majesty.

And Browning, in one of his sublimest and profoundest poem studies ("A Death in the Desert") on Christian faith, and with Christ as the very central theme of that faith, conceives him "the illimitable God:"

> Hundreds of souls, each holding by Christ's word,
> Will grow incorporate with all. . . .
> Can a mere man do this? Yet Christ saith;
> This he lived and died to do.
> Call Christ, then, the illimitable God, or lost!

All the above affirmations, or statements, it seems to my mind, do not predicate merely a relative or created divine Person, but a Person absolute and eternal in his existence; not simply a preincarnate state, but preexistence as to the cosmos. It would seem to my mind, then, that the preexistence of Christ is as much a fact, and more than mere doctrine, as any other phase of Christology is fact. But I would not presume to be so dogmatic as to affirm that it is equal in importance, so far as the practical effect and value of it goes, with some other facts in his divine person and character. Many things must come to be facts to us by faith and revelation.

> Through silence and the trembling stars
> Comes faith from tracts no feet have trod,

and enables the soul to see more clearly. Many things cannot be demonstrated physically with our present means of knowing and knowledge. With this, as with many other things, so far, at least, as absolute knowledge goes, we must "rest in hope."

Concluding, I would say Christ's own utterances concerning his preexistence make them *ex cathedra* evidence and not only "a commanding fact, to be duly reckoned with," but a most formidable fact to be believed! But we watch eagerly for more light upon the subject, hoping to live to see it, and believe more light is to break forth from the word, and believe with Tennyson that

> This fine old world of ours is but a child
> Yet in the go-cart. Patience! Give it time
> To learn its limbs: there is a Hand that guides;

and with him also that

> I doubt not through the ages one increasing purpose runs,
> And the thoughts of men are widened with the process of the suns.

Topeka, Ill. S. R. Reno.

THE QUESTION OF INSPIRATION.

A writer in the last issue of the *Methodist Review* asks, "Where is the proof to show that God has not been speaking to his saints and preachers from the time the canon was closed down to the present day? Has not God spoken as truly to Luther, and to Wesley, and to Maurice, and to Frederick W. Robertson, and to Horace Bushnell, and to Phillips Brooks as he ever spoke to prophet or apostle of old?" He sanctions the words of Frederick Robertson, who says, "An inspiration as true, as real, and as certain as ever prophet or apostle reached is ours if we will have it so." To my mind this is an exceedingly erroneous view of the doctrine of inspiration. Certain it is that it does not accord with the teachings of the orthodox Church upon the subject, and certain it is that it does not accord with the views of the great leaders of orthodox theological thought either in the past or at the present time. The men to whom our writer alludes were all good men; they were men who were undoubtedly called by God to the work of the ministry, men who were conscientious in the discharge of their ministerial duties, whose lives God approved and whose devotion to the interests of the Church of Christ, and the salvation of the world, caused them to stand out among the men of their respective generations as conspicuous characters, as self-sacrificing Christians, as earnest and devoted disciples of Him whose chief delight was to do good, ameliorate human suffering, and save the lost. But to say that they were inspired in the same sense that Moses was inspired when he wrote the Pentateuch, in the same sense that Isaiah was inspired when he penned his matchless prophecies, and in the same sense that Paul was inspired when he composed his inimitable epistles, is, it seems to me, a gigantic error, into which, if we fall, as ministers of Jesus Christ,

we shall find it exceedingly difficult to extricate ourselves. In the same sense that Paul was inspired was Toplady inspired when he made his name immortal by composing the blessed hymn, "Rock of Ages," a hymn that we believe is the very incarnation of truth as it is sung to-day in all parts of the Christian world? If he was, is there any proof that he was not inspired in the same way when, with such determination and animosity of spirit, he supported Calvinism, the barbarous system that we are glad to know is almost extinct at the present time, and fought the Arminianism of Wesley and of Fletcher? In the same sense that Paul was inspired was Toplady inspired when he wrote his *Scheme of Christian and Philosophical Necessity*, in which, as John Fletcher said, he "supposes that God, to maintain order in the universe, is obliged to necessitate all events, from the wagging of a dog's tail, or the rise of a particle of dust, to the murder of a king or the rise of an empire."

But perhaps our writer, and those who believe as he believes, will tell us that Toplady was inspired on some occasions and was not inspired on others. This is nothing more or less than dodging the point at issue. If it is true, then we must also believe that, perhaps, the writers whose productions constitute our Bible were sometimes inspired and sometimes not inspired. What part of their writings was inspired, and what part was not inspired? Are men to be allowed to answer this question in any way that may happen to suit their fancy? As ministers of the Gospel differed in the days of Toplady and Fletcher, even so they have differed in more recent times. The great Spurgeon, than whom a more successful evangelistic preacher has never lived in modern days, was a strong believer in Calvinism. He went so far on one occasion, in one of his sermons, as to declare that no man could preach the Gospel and not preach Calvinism. He was an earnest minister, called by God to preach the Gospel. No doubt about that. Was he inspired in the same sense that Paul was inspired? If he was, then it is certainly true that Wesley and Fletcher were sadly mistaken, and that all the Methodists, and nearly all evangelical Christians, are sadly off the track. It is evident that by assuming the position that men are inspired to-day as Paul and the other biblical writers were inspired we drag the Bible down from the place of authority it has occupied in the past and that it occupies at the present time among orthodox Christians the wide world over, and that we degrade it to the level of a pulpit discourse, delivered by any minister who has been called by God to preach. I believe that we should strenuously contend for the doctrine that the Scriptures were inspired by God as no other production of consecrated genius has ever been inspired; that the Bible occupies a position that is unique in the world of thought; and that no other work, however lofty, is to be compared to the work of those who wrote as they were moved by the Holy Ghost. The Bible is a divine revelation. This cannot be said of any other book. This cannot be said of any sermon delivered to-

day. The Bible is infallible. This cannot be said of any other production, however lofty its pretensions, however exalted its ideals, or however pure its motives. J. NARVER GORTNER.

Creighton, Neb.

PRAYER.

MAN is a religious being. He has a conception of an Intelligence superior to his own. He knows right from wrong. This forever distinguishes him from the brutes. Every tribe and nation, no matter how degraded, has some religious belief and practice. Prayer is the expression and proof of the existence of religious ideas. It is common to all forms of belief, whether true or false. It is impossible to find a system of religion which does not recognize and require prayer. Plutarch says: "If we traverse the world, it is possible to find cities without walls, without letters, without kings, without wealth, without coin, without schools and theaters; but a city without a temple, or that practiceth not worship, prayers, and the like, no one ever saw." This grows out of the very constitution of man. He has needs which he himself cannot supply. He feels his weakness, his helplessness, yea, his sinfulness, and he looks to an external and superior Power to satisfy his necessities and longings.

Prayer runs through the Bible like a river of light and refreshing. Doubtless Adam prayed, and Abel. Very early we read these striking words: "Then began men to call upon the name of the Lord." Abraham was a man of prayer, and Jacob prevailed through prayer. Moses and the prophets supplicated the throne of grace. Jesus many times prayed to his Father, and in his deepest sorrows cried mightily to heaven. The blessed custom was continued by the apostles and early Christians, and has come down to our day. It is a duty which is enjoined upon all men by example, precept, and by a promise of benefit. The Christian prays for all needed things, temporal and spiritual, in the name of Jesus. This exercise is absolutely necessary. It is the rope which rings the bell of heaven. It is the atmosphere by means of which showers of blessing descend into the soul. Without an atmosphere in the physical world we could have no clouds or rain. Without prayer as a medium between man's soul and the skies he could not receive the early and latter rain to refresh his life. Occasions may arise when other Christian duties can lawfully be laid aside: sickness may prevent one from attending public worship; blindness render it impossible to read God's holy word; dumbness prohibit testimony for Jesus; but no condition may bar the soul's approach to the throne of grace. If prayer be given up, weakness, paralysis, death will surely follow.

Some men deny altogether that the fervent effectual prayer of a righteous man availeth much. This is the skeptic's creed: 1. Laws of matter and mind are imperial and immutable; they cannot deviate from their appointed channels of operation. 2. An invincible,

unthinking, and unfeeling Force rules the universe. 3. Every manifestation of life or thought, of bliss or pain, is a sensible expression of this mysterious Power, and cannot be changed in the very nature of things. If this be true, then Christian prayer becomes a sad delusion, an empty form, a futile attempt to obtain blessings which never can be received. O how cold and unsatisfying are such theories as these! A system of fate without a hope! A tyranny of law without a Saviour! A despotism of Force without a God!

The answer to these statements is, that a blind, inexorable Force does not rule the world, but a loving, personal, intelligent God. We accept the doctrine of the immutability of God. The principles of his government never change; but these very principles are so ordained that God "purposes to do, under certain conditions dependent upon the free agency of man, what he will not do under other conditions." So God has ordered his moral government in such a way as to leave a path open to bless those who call upon him in prayer in that manner pointed out in his word. To put it in other words: "In the whole compass of the word of God the question never rises as to the difficulty of adjusting the fixed economy of things to this everlasting interference with it (as seen in prayer); in fact, this everlasting interference is part of the fixed economy" (Pope). God in his plan of human government has arranged for the fact and efficacy of fervent prayer. It was he who implanted the impulse of prayer in the human heart; then he is bound to take cognizance of this impulse in making his moral and physical laws. As he is pledged by his immutable word to answer prayer, when offered according to his will, if necessary, for the time being he must break or hold in abeyance, those laws which oppose an answer.

Lynn, Mass. EDWARD T. CURNICK.

DR. LANCE ON THE RESURRECTION.

THE discussion of the resurrection body in the March-April *Review* is neither philosophical nor scriptural. We still believe in the resurrection of the dead but do not believe in the resurrection of this mortal body. If it is a mark of Universalism to believe that "the resurrection is the soul returning to God," and that "the body will not be raised," and that "the soul leaving the dead body and entering on its immortal career is resurrection to incorruption and glory," then I submit that the great majority of ministers and laymen are, in that much, Universalists. In discussing matters pertaining to eschatology a wide limit is allowable, as we can know nothing about such things aside from revelation. Dr. Lance truly says, "That the fact of the flux of bodily elements makes the resurrection of the same body appear as a thing incredible cannot be denied. Indeed, we confess that to affirm the contrary seems beset with unsurmountable difficulties." And it remains so beset in spite

of philosophy and the oriental or spectacular language used in the Bible when referring to eschatology. Dr. Lance fails to notice the fact that the resurrection of the "dead," but not the resurrection of the "dead body," is constantly affirmed in the Scriptures. Job is misunderstood when he says that God is able to do everything. God cannot lie nor make twice two equal five.

The good doctor's illustrations of molecules and atoms and of turpentine and camphor do not cover the case. His assumption that, "If resurrection means anything it is that this body, the one sown, shall be reproduced and changed into a deathless body," is begging the question. While we believe in miracles, and believe that God is able to do anything that is not contradictory, yet we believe he will do nothing that is unnecessary. While we may not know the "how," the "why" must be in accord with reason. For instance, let us ask why the literal human body should be raised. It will not need to be judged, for it has never sinned. Paul says, "It is sown a natural body; it is raised a spiritual body." Why collect the atoms of the old body merely to change them into a spiritual body? *Cui bono?* And then as in a grain of wheat the husk is never raised, but is changed as it dies, so in our bodies the husk perishes while the soul lives. God will give us our immortal bodies, but they will not be made out of the coverings we wear while here. The doctor wisely says, "Nothing can be put up again unless it was up before." Then what is to be done in the case of the one born with only one arm? Will there be a resurrection or a new creation? But if an arm can be created without using the old material why not a whole body? "*Ex nihilo nihil fit.*"

It is to be hoped that our new Hymnal will omit all such teaching as that God

> "Looks down, and watches all our dust,
> Till he shall bid it rise."

There are enough better hymns that teach the resurrection of the dead without referring to dead bodies. I venture the assertion that very few sermons composed within the last fifteen years contend for a literal resurrection. At the bottom of the barrel some may be found, but they need not be resurrected often. I further assert that very few who repeat the Lord's Prayer believe in the resurrection of the natural body. They believe in the resurrection of the dead. They believe that that which was sown in weakness will be raised in power—that we shall have glorified bodies such as God will see fit to give us. Christ's resurrection is not a type of ours, but a pledge that as he lives we shall live also. This is all we care for, as it assures us that we shall be like him and see him as he is.

Los Angeles, Cal. W. R. Goodwin.

THE ITINERANTS' CLUB.

THE HOMILETIC VALUE OF THE LATE REVISION OF THE SCRIPTURES.—Rom. v, 2–5.

Authorized Version: "By whom also we have access by faith into this grace wherein we stand, and rejoice in hope of the glory of God. And not only so, but we glory in tribulations also: knowing that tribulation worketh patience; and patience, experience; and experience, hope: and hope maketh not ashamed; because the love of God is shed abroad in our hearts by the Holy Ghost which is given unto us."

Revised Version: "Through whom also we have had our access by faith into this grace wherein we stand; and let us rejoice in hope of the glory of God. And not only so, but let us also rejoice in our tribulations: knowing that tribulation worketh patience; and patience, probation; and probation, hope: and hope putteth not to shame; because the love of God hath been shed abroad in our hearts through the Holy Ghost which was given unto us."

In a previous discussion of Rom. v, 1, attention was called to the difference in text in the Revised Version, whereby "let us have peace" was substituted for "we have peace" of the King James Version. "We have" was based on the belief of some expositors that it most accurately represented the apostle's train of thought. The passage now under consideration has been regarded as an expression of the blessed results of justification. As already indicated, the interpretation of the first verse of this chapter was affected by differences in the text, namely, as to whether the Authorized Version, "we have," or the Revised, "let us have," is the true reading. For homiletic uses both views represent Gospel truth in accordance with the "analogy of faith." The difference between the Authorized and Revised Versions in the verses now under consideration arises out of the rendering of certain words and not out of any variation of text. Notice these variants in the translation: For "we have access" the revisers read, "we have had our access." The force of the perfect tense is more fully brought out in the Revised Version. The Revised Version reads, "let us rejoice," thus making "rejoice" a subjunctive instead of indicative. This rendering as subjunctive follows logically from their rendering of the first verse, "let us have peace." If the latter is an exhortation the other would seem to involve a similar construction. Instead of "we glory in tribulations also" the revisers read, "let us also rejoice in our tribulations." For the word "experience" the revisers read "probation;" and instead of "hope maketh not ashamed" we have in the late revision "hope putteth not to shame." The late revisers, then, make this passage an exhortation; the Au-

thorized Version, a declaration. The translation of the revisers introduces the personal element more closely than it is introduced in the Authorized Version. It says, "our access," as though he is including all Christians in their personal relation to God. It further says, "our tribulations," as if they were the common lot of Christians—which we know historically to have been the case. It is one of the elements in Paul's style which gives interest to all his utterances that his statements are so vital and personal. The apostle regards himself as in a real world full of real people, with their desires and sufferings, their joys and sorrows; and deals with men not as mere things, but as real beings, living in a world of intense reality.

For homiletic uses we may say that this passage has been regarded by commentators as expressing the blessed results of justification. It is better, perhaps, to regard it as expressing the accompaniments of justification, and the privileges of believers in relation thereto. God has affixed certain privileges to the justified. In the previous verse he has spoken of the state of peace into which they have been brought by justification. They have obtained peace with God. Aforetime they had been at enmity, but, having become united to Jesus Christ by faith, they are at peace with him. The warfare has passed; God looks upon them no longer as estranged; they are "fellow-citizens of the saints and of the household of God." Justification has also introduced them into the peace of God; that is that sacred, divine peace which fills the soul of the believer, bringing rest to the troubled spirit, and quiet amid the difficulties and burdens of life. In the passage before us he assures believers of their present position in Christ, namely, a state of grace. His language is, "into this grace wherein we stand." The tense here is the perfect tense. It means a state of grace into which they have entered and which is to be their abiding state. The Christian is in a state of divine favor, and is the heir of all the blessings that grow out of that favor; hence the great doctrines of salvation are called doctrines of grace.

The text affirms also the means of entrance into this state, namely, first, it is done by faith. According to the margin of the Revised Version, some ancient authorities omit "by faith," but it is sufficiently well established to be acknowledged in that Version as the true text. The entrance into the state of grace is through Christ; the text says, "through whom we have had our access." A more clear rendering, perhaps, would be, "through whom we have had our introduction." To come into this realm of grace we must be introduced. This introduction in point of time precedes the peace which has been spoken of in the previous verse. The Greek word *prosagogeus* (προσαγωγεύς) is used for one who introduces another into the presence of his sovereign. By faith in Christ we are introduced to all the blessings of the Gospel. Christ is the one through whom it is necessary to come into the state of grace; "neither is there sal-

vation in any other." This passage further assures us of the blessings which result from this introduction, namely, a state of rejoicing. The Christian rejoices in the hope of the glory of God. By this he undoubtedly means all those blessings which belong to God and which are communicable to man; the holiness and love and gentleness of God are a part of the divine glory. In other words, he rejoices in hope of God's favor and of the character which is in harmony with it. Second, he rejoices in tribulations; that is, the trials through which they are called to pass. The reasons for this rejoicing in tribulation are given: "Tribulation worketh patience;" that is, not mere passive endurance, but it is the strength which enables one to endure. He who in the grace of Christ passes through tribulations rejoices in the divine strength which enables him to endure them, and thus he bears up bravely, heroically, realizing that in so doing he obeys his Master's will. This endurance of the Christians is amply illustrated in the early Church history. The Revised Version says patience works "probation;" that is, proving or approving. Some have suggested approved character. The word "probation" and the word rendered in our Authorized Version "experience" come from a word which means to test, to prove, and then to approve after testing. Tribulation tests those who are subjected to it, and those who pass through the test successfully are approved; and this probation—that is, this approval, or testing—produces hope; for he who has endured the test has hope, not only because of the endurance, but because he has endured through the strength of Christ, which has come to him by faith. Further, he rejoices in the certainty of the outcome. "Hope putteth not to shame;" that is, does not disappoint. The hopes of God's people rest not on the uncertainties, but on the certainties, which he proposes to show in the verses that follow.

This passage, then, brings out the divine source of our graces. The believer's peace, the believer's joy, and the believer's hope all come to him through the grace of Christ. Christ introduces him to that circle in which these graces are found. This passage further brings out the development of character under the influences of divine grace; tribulation worketh patient endurance, and patient endurance works out approval, and approval inspires hope, and out of this hope comes the sunshine of glory. The Christian hope, then, will not prove a disappointment. It has realities in this life and in the life to come fully meeting the Christian's high anticipations, as revealed in the Gospel.

THE ANNUAL CONFERENCE AS A FACTOR IN MINISTERIAL EDUCATION.

In the nomenclature of our denomination the Conferences for practical purposes are divided into the Spring and the Fall Conferences. The Spring Conferences are now going on. The meeting

of so many preachers at Conference is very instructive to our younger ministry if properly interpreted. Important lessons may be gathered by anyone who will give careful attention to them. Punctuality is learned as an important part of ministerial duty. The preachers are anxious to get to the seat of the Conference in time to answer to their names. If a little late there is a rush to get their names recorded as present at the first session. One should be recognized as punctual to obligations.

The first day of the session is usually given also to gathering statistics. The importance of punctuality in financial matters is thus emphasized and brought to the notice of the minister as soon as he reaches the Conference. Punctuality is in the view of many a minor part, but it counts much in the race of life, especially in ministerial life. A few minutes late at public services or prayer meeting is injurious as an example as well as hindering work and impairing the general usefulness of the preacher. All men who occupy positions of responsibility have felt the need of punctuality, and certainly no work is more responsible and more naturally calls for this virtue than that of the minister. The habit of accuracy is thereby promoted also. The reports must be accurate. Accuracy is allied to integrity.

The Annual Conference is especially fitted also to educate the minister in the usages, teachings, and achievements of the denomination. While denominations exist they will be carried on by the methods peculiar to each, and which constitute a part of their heritage. A denomination exists as such because of the peculiarities either of belief or of practice. To be out of harmony with either is injurious to the highest efficiency. It is especially true of methods of Christian work. The denominations are more nearly allied now than they were years ago, and still there is enough difference in modes of service and of reaching the people to warrant a careful study of these modes on the part of young ministers. The evangelical services held frequently at the Conference show the spirit of the time and indicate the modes in which the Church is working at that particular period. With the growing years these methods vary more or less from time to time, but the general spirit remains the same, and the general form is practically unchanged.

The doctrinal teachings of the Church, though not brought forward prominently at Conference, are in the air. Doctrine is not only a matter of formal expression; it is a matter of feeling. There is an atmosphere about doctrine which controls large bodies of people when gathered together. Take, for example, the doctrine of the atonement. When understood in its deep, evangelical sense it pervades the spirit of the place, and though not formally expressed in words is felt and imbibed in thought and deed.

Further, the great interests of the Church are presented before the Conference by their appointed representatives. The importance of these representations and the anniversaries connected therewith

in the education of the minister cannot be exaggerated. The sum of them all constitutes a part of the history of the Church at that period. The General Conference of the Church has divided up the work under various heads, and presented it to the Church under these separate forms. Each department has its specific work and its general relation to the whole work. At the Annual Conference there is an opportunity to hear these subjects discussed and the results of the work thus far performed in a manner calculated not only to inspire but to instruct. The knowledge of the Church work in all its departments must be gathered year after year if one would keep abreast of the achievements of the time. After a while history puts the results of this work in permanent memorials, in books and papers, but the impressions of what is doing and the means that are being employed to accomplish it can only be adequately obtained by hearing from those who are in the field concerning the work as it passes before them year after year. Thus each Conference, if the anniversaries are wisely improved, is in reality a course of lectures on the great movements of the Church of Christ, and thus becomes an element in the constant intellectual as well as spiritual development of the minister of the time.

The lesson of the brotherhood of the ministry should not be overlooked. In the isolation of pastoral work the preachers cannot see each other except at general gatherings long enough to get the sense of absolute brotherhood. Here they meet as brethren in Christ and brethren in work. This brotherhood in its purest and best sense should be appreciated by our coming ministry. It forms an essential element in success in Christian work. In no place is the sense of brotherhood more apparent than in the gathering of ministers where each goes to take the work assigned him, sometimes where it is pleasing, sometimes where it is exceedingly difficult, and rejoices that he is enabled to bear a share with his brethren in the common fellowship of the faith and in the common work of the Master. Hence it is a beautiful sight when they separate at the close of the Conference and sing the old-time hymn,

> We share our mutual woes,
> Our mutual burdens bear.

This sense of brotherhood becomes a binding relation not only between themselves, but ultimately between themselves and their people; for it must ever be borne in mind that the Church is one. The ministry and the laity are not two separate branches in the Church of Christ, but one; and the fellowship of the one becomes alike the fellowship with the other, and thus the harmony of the Church in its actual working is complete.

ARCHÆOLOGY AND BIBLICAL RESEARCH.

DISCOVERIES AT PRIENÈ.

GREAT and important discoveries have been made in Greece, Asia Minor, and the adjacent islands during the past few years by the classical schools of several countries, which have their headquarters at Athens. The work of the schools has been systematized to such a degree that a large extent of territory has been explored and a large number of sites have been made to reveal their buried treasures and most ancient history. The efforts of the several schools have been very ably supplemented by private parties and learned societies.

Of the places recently explored perhaps none has yielded more satisfactory results than Prienè, in Asia Minor. As this city is comparatively unknown we may be pardoned for informing the reader that it was one of the oldest Ionic settlements, and was located on the Gulf of Latmus, a few miles north of Miletus, almost on a direct line to Smyrna. The waters of the Ægean Sea once washed the hills on which Prienè was located. This, however, is no longer so, for in the course of ages the Meander has rolled down its sand and deposits, and filled not only the docks and port of Prienè, but the very plain for miles and miles. Thus this famous old city has ceased to be maritime, and the site is now some miles inland. This also accounts for the fact that all its former glory has passed away. In some sense Prienè has become a Pompeii, a buried city, with this difference, however, that Pompeii was suddenly overwhelmed by a great catastrophe, while Prienè succumbed to the more gradual, but none the less effective, work of nature.

The ruins of Prienè were visited as early as 1765 by two Englishmen—Chandler and Revett—who were sent out under the auspices of the Society of Dilettanti. They discovered the ruins of the splendid temple of Athenè Polias. This was at a time when archæology was in its infancy. Therefore the thorough excavation of the site was left to later and more competent hands. It was more than one hundred years later (1868) that the same society sent out Mr. Pullan, who carried on very successful work at Prienè, and was able to convince the world that this ancient city had the finest specimen of Ionic architectural art of the fourth century before our era. Those who have visited the Department of Greek Antiquities in the British Museum will recall the Mausoleum Room and Mausoleum Annex, in which are exhibited some of the remains in sculpture and architecture brought by Mr. Pullan from the temple at Prienè. There may also be seen a number of the inscriptions found on the walls of the temple in the Room of Inscriptions adjoining the entrance hall of the museum. One of these mentions the dedication of the temple by Alexander the Great. Encouraged by the success of the English

explorers, two Frenchmen—Rayet and Thomas—reached Prienè in 1873 and devoted months of hard work and scientific study to the venerable ruins. The result of their work, as far as it related to the temple of Athené Polias, was published in detail some years ago, and need not be repeated here. It was but natural that archæologists concluded that a place with such a magnificent temple of so early a date should have had other edifices of great splendor and interest. Acting upon this conviction, the directors of the Royal Museum at Berlin determined in 1895 to send Wiegand, Heine, and Schroeder, experienced specialists, to Prienè, in order to make a thorough study of the ancient city. The results have justified the undertaking, for now we know that Prienè was celebrated not only for its temple, but that it was a splendid city, with symmetrically laid out streets, spacious squares, many public and private edifices of magnificent construction. The reports so far given out by these German scholars have been meager and incomplete; enough, however, is known to show that this old Ionic settlement was an important place between the sixth and third centuries of our era. The last words on the subject are from the pen of M. Maxime Collignon, published in a recent number of the *Revue des Deux Mondes*. M. Collignon, who visited the ruins of Prienè a short time ago, is a well-known architect and archæologist, and for that reason his statements may be taken as trustworthy.

Prienè was known as early as the eleventh or tenth century before our era, and played an important rôle in the history of Greek civilization down to the time of Christ. We read that for a long time it successfully repelled the inroads made by the Carians and Lydians; that it became a Persian city about 544 B. C.; that it was a place of great wealth, for it is a matter of record that even Crœsus borrowed money from some of its wealthy inhabitants. It remained subject to Persia till the time of Alexander, who captured it and then restored its independence.

The first thing that strikes the student on examining the ruins of this ancient city is the perfect symmetry, the mathematical regularity with which it was laid out and built. The plan followed was exactly the same, as far as the disposition of the streets is concerned, as that in the construction of the modern city in the United States. The streets run in mathematically parallel lines. The wider ones have a breadth of nearly twenty-five feet and run from east to west; the narrower are about fifteen feet wide and intersect the former at right angles, so as to make about seventy square blocks, or squares. The blocks thus formed are one hundred and thirty by one hundred and sixty feet. As a rule, four houses are built on each one of these squares. Thus every house is on a corner lot and facing two streets; the main entrance, however, in every case is from the narrower street. In this regard they bear remarkable resemblance to the fashionable Arab quarters of a modern oriental town. Before leaving the streets we should add that they are paved with large

blocks of stone, and are provided with gutters or drains for carrying away any waste waters after rain, etc. There are no traces of sidewalks, as at Pompeii. We may, therefore, infer that sidewalks were later inventions of the Romans.

The houses brought to light at Priené, as might be expected, having been exposed to the elements for so many centuries, are not in as good state of preservation as those at Pompeii; nevertheless they are perfect enough to afford us very clear ideas of the arrangement and dimensions of the various rooms. Thus, with the aid of the discoveries at Delos and elsewhere in Greece, the student may form a moderately correct picture of the houses of the better class of citizens at, and shortly after, the time of Alexander the Great. The rooms on the ground floor were grouped around a central court, surrounded by a colonnade or peristyle. This court played an important part in the family life of the ancient Greeks. Here, when the weather permitted, the occupants, free from the idle gaze of the street loafer and the curious passer-by, as well as from the noise, bustle, and dust of the public places, could sit and chat together, enjoying the fresh air and pleasant shade. The arrangement is exactly the same as in the palaces of Mycenæ, or in the mansions of the rich in the days of Plato, who has given us a description of the house of Callia.

One of the fine residences just west of the temple of Athené is in a fair state of preservation. It had its court and peristyle. In the center of the court there was an exquisitely constructed fountain, presenting the appearance of the capital of a column. The walls of this house were, for the greater part, in a dilapidated condition, yet some portions were well enough preserved to give a very accurate impression of their strength and character of construction. Very noticeable was the stucco work, in which pieces of various colored marble were inserted. Both painter and plasterer had taken part in these decorations. Of these we may mention a frieze with triglyphs, denticulated molding, or *cyma*, some half columns, and a satyr's mask. The stucco, painted in bright red, was artistically executed. These ornamentations bear great similarity to those at Pompeii, which show that the Romans had copied from the Greeks, whether of Greece or Asia Minor. We are, however, not to think that they were original to the Greeks, but rather Alexandrine imitations. Whatever their origin, the Greeks, as the ruins of Priené and Pergamos show, had this style of decorations centuries before the Pompeians. Delos also, at least to some extent, was acquainted with the same style of art. The Delian house may be regarded as a transition from that of Priené to that of Pompeii.

We have only very meager data regarding the articles used in furnishing these mansions. The few pieces discovered are, however, in a very perfect state. First of all must be mentioned the massive marble tables, supported on legs, richly carved, so as to imitate lions' claws. There were also censers and candelabra, as well as a

large number of bronze vases of various shapes and sizes. The excavations at Priené have brought to light very many statuettes and figurines, or figures in marble and terra cotta. Their nature is such as to prove conclusively that they were used for decorating purposes, much in the same way as bric-a-brac in our modern houses. They were also used, as every student of archæology knows, in private chapels, temples, and sepulchers. Those discovered in private houses were sometimes found in niches in the walls or upon shelves purposely made for them. They represented a large variety of objects, many of them being mythological subjects, such as Eros, Nemesis, Aphrodites, etc. Domestic scenes were also very common, for example, a maiden playing on the lyre and attended by her slave, a pedagogue conducting his ward to or from school, etc. Not only were the side walls decorated, but various objects were represented on the ceilings as well.

Some of the statuettes discovered testify clearly to the culture of the third and fourth centuries before Christ. Among these should be mentioned a very finely executed statuette of Alexander the Great, who was greatly and justly honored and very popular at Priené. It is worthy of remark that many of the objects found in the temples and public edifices of Greece were likewise employed in decorating the private residences of the rich. The same custom, if we are to believe the Roman historians, prevailed also among the Romans.

Let us now turn to the agora, or forum. Here we have, restored with remarkable success and precision, a forum as it existed in the days of Alexander and his immediate successors. Like the city itself, it presents a remarkable symmetry and regularity. No other agora yet discovered, built previous to the time of Alexander, can compare with that of Priené. The plan followed is, in the main, the same as that on which is constructed the agora at Pergamos or Egæ. The straight line is a prominent feature of the entire place. As might be expected, the principal street of Priené passes through the agora and cuts it into two unequal parts, the smaller being on the north side. This is bounded by a terrace, reached by a number of steps, and has a magnificent portico, extending about four hundred feet. We learn from an inscription that it was called the "Sacred Portico," and that it was dedicated to the discussion of questions of public interest. Portions of the walls at this place are covered with inscriptions, relating chiefly to the laws and decrees regulating the public affairs of the city. There are also very many references to the times when the power of Rome was commencing to make itself felt in the affairs of Greece. The chambers found here were those used by the judges, city officials, and those in charge of the agora.

At the extreme east end of the sacred porch are two edifices, which without doubt were public property of some kind. The one farthest from the agora was very probably the *prytaneum*, or the place where official hospitality was extended to persons of rank. The other building, in far better state of preservation, was

doubtless a place for public gatherings. M. Collignon conjectures that it was either the so-called *ecclesia* or *bouleterion*. The main room of this marble edifice is almost square, and is large enough to seat six hundred persons. Near the center is a square altar, ornamented with heads of bulls, and several mythological subjects, representing the gods. The seats afford an unobstructed view of the altar. Back of the altar, on the side free from seats, were large marble benches or thrones, which were evidently reserved for the president of the council, his advisers and secretaries. An inscription found on the spot gives the name of one president, namely, Aulos Æmilios Zosimus. He must have been a man of great importance. He had filled the offices of gymnasiarch, president of the board of instruction, clerk of the city and senate, etc. He was allowed to wear a crown. When elected president he gave a public dinner to all the citizens. He made liberal donations to the gymnasium, and sought in every way possible to promote the interests of Priené.

The south part of the agora was devoted to commercial and business interests. It was the market place. On the west side of the agora, though no part of it, was the temple of Dionysus. It was in this quarter of the city that the shops or bazaars were found. Here were erected many of the monuments to the benefactors of the city. The statues were placed on low foundations to serve as seats for those desiring to rest.

The theater is situated not far from the building called above *ecclesia* or *bouleterion* (senate). This, according to M. Collignon, is the best-preserved ancient Greek theater yet discovered. It is, as might be expected, built on a slope between the two principal streets of the city. The seats are arranged in concentric tiers, and are reached not only by a principal entrance, but by two others on the sides. The stage, orchestra, and various accessories are all shown.

Back of and on either side of the stage are the dressing rooms used by the actors. The front part of the stage, or proscenium, has the so-called *logeion* (Latin, *pulpitum*). Immediately in front of the orchestra were the seats of honor (*prædria*), reserved for the more distinguished. All this is on precisely the same plan as the other Greek theaters. But here is an important difference. Heretofore most all authorities have agreed that the altar, called *thymele*, an inseparable part of the theater, was in the center of the orchestra. At Priené, however, the altar is outside the orchestra, about the center of the semicircle which forms the *prædria*. Is this an exception, or were those who have written on the Greek theater mistaken as to the location of the altar? Be that as it may, the altar at Priené is the only one yet discovered in any of the theaters explored, and in splendid state of preservation. It is of fine marble, erected on a slightly elevated platform. It is crowned with a denticulated cornice and ornamented with lateral gables. We learn from an inscription that it was dedicated by Pythotimos, the agonothete.

FOREIGN OUTLOOK.

SOME LEADERS OF THOUGHT.

Vincent Zapletal. This priest of the Roman Catholic Church takes up the cudgel against W. Robertson Smith's theory of totemism among the early Israelites in a recent book entitled *Der Totemismus und de Religion Israels. Ein Beitrag zur Religionswissenschaft und zur Erklärung des Alten Testamentes* (Totemism and the Religion of Israel. A Contribution to the Science of Religion and to the Exposition of the Old Testament), Freiburg (Switzerland), Universitätsbuchhandlung. Taking up the animal names, which occur among the Israelites as well as other Semitic peoples, especially the Arabians, Zapletal denies that there are any indications of totemism, since many of them are not to be explained as animal names, while those which are to be so explained form but a small percentage of all names, and are for the most part names of individuals given to express some similarity to the animal in question. Animal family names are bestowed as a result of the name of the individual at the head of the family, while animal names for places are given because the animals were numerous in that locality. Alleged Israelitish reverence for natural objects, such as trees, stones, springs, and animals, has another cause than totemism. For example, trees and stones were not taken for divinities, but for the residences of divinities; it is a question whether springs were ever reverenced among the Israelites; while there is no proof that living animals ever were reverenced, although images of animals were sometimes regarded as symbols of the deity. It has been particularly held that the prohibition of unclean animals as food indicates totemism among the early Israelites. Zapletal, however, shows that those prohibitions can be accounted for on the ground of health, and for pedagogical and general human reasons; and he maintains that if this were an indication of totemism there would have been a prohibition of certain plants as well as animals. Totemism implies also the conception of sacrifice as a eucharistic feast, wherein the deity, the human society making the sacrifice, and the animal offered are regarded as blood relatives. Zapletal denies both the sense of relationship between the deity and human society and that between man and animals. That only the whole tribe could sacrifice an animal did not arise from the animal's sacredness, but from its usefulness to the tribe as such. Of itself the animal was not sacred, but it was made sacred by the sacrificial act. Besides, sacrifice was chiefly a private matter having the nature of something devoted. Thus Zapletal takes up each and every argument for the existence of totemism in Israel and shows that all the facts depended upon for its proof can be better accounted for on some other theory.

G. Gross. In the midst of so much academic theorizing it is interesting to note how a scholarly man engaged with the practical problems of religion looks at theology. This Gross illustrates in his recent book on *Glaube, Theologie, und Kirche* (Faith, Theology, and the Church), Tübingen, G. Schnürlen, 1901. His discussion of the doubter is both interesting and valuable. He describes the doubter as one who is in earnest about religious questions, and who feels that his personal well-being depends upon their satisfactory answer. This is somewhat novel; for most of us think of a doubter as one who has lost interest in religion if he is not positively averse to it. Gross's definition affords room for a true distinction between the doubter, the unbeliever, and the trifler. The many and varied problems with which religious doubt has to deal Gross sums up in the questions, Is there a God? Who is God? Is there any possibility of being assured of the existence of God? To these he answers that the only way of knowing God is the way of personal contact with him—the way of personal experience. This certainty attainable by faith differs from the certainty obtained by scientific means in that it can exist only as living certainty, that is, certainty which is being continuously reproduced. In order to possess it one must constantly experience that personal communion with God which is necessary to faith. The ground upon which a constant contact of the human spirit with God is possible is the Holy Scriptures, and in these it is especially the person of Jesus Christ the consideration of whom produces the deepest impression concerning the nature and glory of God. So it is the Holy Scriptures which condition any adequate knowledge of God in the mind of man. It seems to the present writer that Gross gives the sacred Scriptures not too important, but too exclusive, a function in connection with an experimental knowledge of God. Still, he does well to give the Bible a large place in the production and maintenance of Christian experience. Of a less practical kind is his discussion of the question whether theology can be properly termed a science. He reaches the conclusion that exegetical and historical theology come within the range of science strictly speaking, but that doctrinal theology and ethics are not truly scientific since they rest too much upon individual conviction. It is a question, however, whether Gross is not in error here. It would seem that if the scientific method were applied to the classification of personal religious beliefs this very procedure would legitimate the results as true science.

RECENT THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE.

La vie future d'apres le Mazdéisme à la lumière des croyances parallèles dans les autres religions, étude d'eschatologie comparée (The Future Life according to Mazdeism in the Light of Parallel Beliefs in other Religions. A Study in Comparative Eschatology). By N. Söderblom. Paris, E. Leroux, 1901. Though

he writes in French, the author of this book is a brilliant young Swede. In his first chapter he considers the doctrine of the future life in its lowest stage of development, that is, as mere continuance of life. The future life is, in this stage, considered merely as the continuation of this life, even to the extreme of making the vicissitudes of that life identical with those of the present. A second stage of development is that in which the idea of retribution is prominent. This stage is characteristic of Mazdeism. In some religions the doctrine of the future life is closely connected with those of the end of the world and the renewal of the world. The Mazdeistic conceptions of the destruction of the world by fire, of the renewal of the world, of the resurrection of the dead, of the final judgment, and of the final restitution of all things furnish valuable material for his discussion. Söderblom is very skeptical with reference to the alleged influence of Mazdeism upon Jewish and Christian eschatology so much proclaimed in these days. He finds at least two very important differences between the Mazdeistic and Jewish (Christian) eschatology which seem to him to forbid any important influence of the former upon the latter. The Mazdeistic apocalyptic is based on the cosmological myth of the destruction of the world by fire and of the world's renewal, and only gradually was the ethical conception of a final judgment connected with this fundamental idea. On the other hand, the Jewish eschatology proceeds upon the ethical concept of a Messianic judgment, and but gradually adopted cosmological views and speculations. According to this Mazdeism and Judaism developed on mutually exclusive lines. A second contrast Söderblom finds in the optimism and pessimism, respectively, of the Mazdeistic and Judaistic eschatologies. Judaism teaches the eternal damnation of some side by side with the eternal salvation of others; Mazdeism, the final purification and restoration of all, after the endurance by the wicked of three days in purgatorial fires. Judaism holds to the final destruction of this world, which becomes more and more evil; Mazdeism looks for the perfection and renewal of this world, which is gradually becoming more and more ripe for such an outcome. If these differences could be established it would seem to settle it that the two religions, at any rate as far as their respective eschatologies are concerned, developed independently of each other.

Studien zur Entstehungsgeschichte der jüdischen Gemeinde nach dem babylonischen Exil (Studies in the History of the Origin of the Jewish Congregation Subsequent to the Babylonian Exile). By Ernst Sellin. Leipzig. A. Deichert. 1901. For some years students of Old Testament history have been seeking to learn more of the circumstances attending and following the return of the Jews from Babylon to Palestine. Sellin doubts whether any definite and detailed knowledge on that question can ever be attained; though he thinks he offers some facts which have hitherto remained

unobserved, or which have, at least, not been connected with the solution of the problem. Taking up the bearing of Ezra iv, 7-vi, 15, on the subject, he thinks there is no reason whatever to doubt the complete trustworthiness of chapters v, 1-vi, 15. Out of this portion of Ezra Sellin deduces the following fixed facts: The temple edict of Cyrus, the laying of the corner stone of the temple by Sheshbazzar, the gradual return of the people, the attempt to build the walls and the interruption by the Samaritans, with the consequent delay of the temple structure until Zerubbabel again laid the corner stone, after which the temple was completed. Sellin then proceeds to search the books of Haggai and Zechariah, and finds that Haggai contains absolutely nothing to contradict the findings of Ezra v and vi, but, on the contrary, confirms them. Besides this, we gather that after a previous attempt Zerubbabel laid the corner stone of his temple September 24, B. C. 520. As to the return of the people from Babylon, Haggai gives us no information of such a return in the second year of Cyrus, but it does, in a variety of ways, bear testimony that from the time of the conquest of Babylon to September, 520, the larger part of the people had returned and settled in Palestine. Zechariah confirms this conclusion, and adds thereto that between 538 and 520 Jewish colonies returned from Babylon, that Zerubbabel laid the corner stone in 520, and also an indirect confirmation of Ezra iv, 7-vi, 15. Examining Ezra ii (=Neh. vii), Sellin finds nothing to contradict his inferences from other passages, and concludes that Nehemiah and Ezra upon their return to Jerusalem found others who had returned before them. Taking it all in all, Sellin regards the contents of Ezra as trustworthy, and his historical results, drawn from the above-named sources, vary little from the traditional, which fact, in the present state of Old Testament study, does not argue as forcibly against his scholarly merits as it would have argued formerly. An interesting incidental result of Sellin's studies is that he dates the so-called third Isaiah between 537 and 520 on the basis of Isa. lxiii, 18; lxiv, 9f.; lxvi, 1-5, though these passages will be by no means convincing to all scholars.

RELIGIOUS AND EDUCATIONAL.

Harnack's "What is Christianity?" It takes very little to throw the theological world of Germany into a tempest. This is in part owing to the antagonism of theological parties, and in part to the jealousies among the theologians. Harnack's book contains some very weak Christology, along with much else that is very valuable. But the opponents of Harnack have, for the most part, chosen to attack him on the ground that he denies that Jesus is intimately connected with the Gospel as a system. Learned treatises were written to prove how wrong such a position is. Meanwhile Harnack kept quiet until one after another had committed himself to that line of assault, and then he showed them up by calling attention to

the fact that what he taught in his book was that Christ did not himself teach that he was the center of the Gospel; but as we believe in the supernatural birth of Jesus though Jesus himself says nothing about it, so Harnack makes Christ an essential part of the Gospel, and that his ninth chapter shows that he so ranks him. The tempest will probably subside now with several German theologians rather wiser for their humiliating experience.

The Good Templars Abroad. The order, organized in Utica, N. Y., in 1852, reached Great Britain in 1868. From there it spread to Sweden and Norway, thence to Denmark, and, in 1883, to North Schleswig. In these border territories Germans became members of the order, and in 1889 a German grand lodge was formed, with 9 local lodges. These were composed mostly of artisans, small farmers, and laborers. The first among the more educated classes of Germany to interest themselves in the movement were schoolteachers. In 1892 the first lodge was established in Switzerland, and Professor Forel, of Zurich, became the champion of the cause. Professor Bunge, of Basel, had long advocated total abstinence, but seeing the need of organization he and his followers became Good Templars. About the same time Herr Asmussen, of Hamburg, entered with all his great administrative ability into the movement. It is a strange fact that while many physicians favor the order it is more or less opposed by the clergy, the legal fraternity, and many professors in universities. The growth is rapid in foreign lands, there being, in 1899, in Great Britain 120,000, in Sweden 95,000, and in Germany, in 1901, 12,230 members.

Insanity among German Female Teachers. Some months ago Professor Zimmer published statistics from one hundred and seventy-five German institutions for the care of insane or nervously disordered persons apparently showing that the number of insane female teachers is about four times as great in proportion as the number of other insane women. Professor Zimmer is not an opponent of women in the teaching profession, but lest his conclusions might be employed to the disadvantage of the women teachers one of their number attempted to show that his deductions were inaccurate. It appeared that he had taken no account of the distinction between those who were merely prepared to teach and those who had actually been engaged in teaching, nor of the distinction of those who taught in the public schools and those who gave private lessons, as in music and language. These oversights, it was claimed, would greatly reduce the number of insane teachers. It was also claimed that Professor Zimmer had made his comparison between women teachers and all other German females, whereas it should have included none under sixteen years of age. It looks as though this woman had caught Professor Zimmer napping.

SUMMARY OF THE REVIEWS AND MAGAZINES.

THE *Presbyterian and Reformed Review* (Philadelphia) for April has a solid table of contents, including "Old Testament Discussion and Princeton Opinion," "Belief as an Ethical Postulate," "The Book of Daniel," "Lost Meanings of Hebrew Roots," "The New Psychology," and "An Oberlin Admirer of Ritschl." Among the book reviews are interesting notices of *The Life of Edward White Benson* and the *Life and Letters of Thomas Henry Huxley*. In the former, the son of the Archbishop of Canterbury shows a bigoted "Churchman" occasionally touched with mellowing liberality, sometimes severe upon others, but also frank to acknowledge his own personal faults, lamenting that he had ever been sour, and bitter, and hot, and writing to his wife, on his birthday in 1878: "I think the most grave and altogether best lesson which I have learned in nine-and-forty years is the incalculable superiority of gentleness to every other force, and the imperative necessity of humility as a foundation to every other virtue." Benson indulged in frequent flings at Calvinism, as when he explained the troublesomeness of two orphan brothers in the school by saying, "Their grandmother is a rigid Calvinist, who will not let them speak above a whisper on Sundays;" and as when he wrote concerning the condition of affairs in Cornwall: "Calvinism" (of which, he says, "Wesley taught not a word") "has pervaded nearly every place, and in all such places Sacraments are simply abhorred." Benson was sorely vexed at the prevalence of nonconformity, and once uttered such bigotry as this: "English Churchmanship is forever the strength of my life, and the form under which God seems to have done everything for my people that is honest and lovely and of good report, just as much as the Law was the Light of Israel, and His way for them a way equally remote from Babylonish and Samaritan ways." Yet the same chapter tells us that this Anglican bishop "always recognized quite frankly that Methodism had kept religion alive in Cornwall when the Established Church had almost lost the sacred flame." To a disinterested observer there is something amusing, as well as pathetic, in the anxious efforts of English Churchmen to bolster up their claims by obtaining outside recognition of the validity of Anglican orders. This was the aim of negotiations carried on by Benson and others with the Russian Church; but the desired recognition was not secured. From the Jansenist Church in Holland Archbishop Benson also endeavored to procure an acknowledgment that the Anglican Church had Apostolic Succession; and here also he was repulsed. Again he failed when he tried to obtain from the bishops of the Old Catholics definite pledges of recognition of orders. When Lord Halifax, in 1894, induced the Arch-

bishop of Canterbury to seek a reconciliation between the Church of England and the Church of Rome, Benson entertained the proposal, requiring, however, that the Pope should acknowledge the validity of English orders. His Infallible Holiness, the Almighty's deputy, with the aid of his most erudite counselors, investigated Anglican orders, on the solicitation of suppliants from the English Church, for two years, and then heartlessly informed them that an exhaustive examination of history showed their orders to be entirely null and void; that, in fact, they were no more a part of the True Church than the veriest Dissenters. This was a bitter and humiliating disappointment. In the latter part of his life Benson perceived the evils arising from High Churchism and Ritualism, and the necessity of conciliating the Evangelical party in the Church of England, lest they be provoked to secede and make a new Methodism. He urged that everything possible should be done to retain them, saying, to his fellow Churchmen, "Except these abide in the ship, you cannot be saved." Deploring ritualistic excesses, he wrote, "Full tilt we go to alienate all the laity we can." A High Church service he thus describes impatiently: "Ridiculous donnings and doffings of stoles and hoods—an eleven minutes' sermon." The notice of Huxley's *Life* sets to the credit of this representative of science some services rendered to morality and religion. At the expense of consistency, Huxley made various concessions which faced toward orthodoxy. He exposed the fallacy in Hume's argument against miracles, and maintained that Science has nothing to say against miracles, except to require evidence for them; that "there is no seeming absurdity in theology which you cannot parallel by a greater absurdity of Nature;" that "the philosophical difficulties of Theism are no greater now than they have been ever since Theism was first taught or invented." He indorsed the great argument of Butler's *Analogy*, declaring that it is not weakened by evolution theories. He defended the use of prayer, which Tyndall and others assailed, and which was jettisoned by some of the English prelates. Claiming that the objection to prayer as being an interference with fixed laws does not apply, he wrote that it is no more logically absurd to ask the Almighty to change the weather than it is to ask your friend to answer your letter. He declared the government of the world to be rigorously just, and kind, and beneficent, saying: "It is obvious to me that the wicked does not flourish, nor is the righteous punished. The gravitation of sin to sorrow is as clear as that of the earth to the sun, and more so." When some of the Broad-Church clergy sought his indorsement for their liberal teachings he told them that facts are against their "Broad" views, that the orthodox doctrines which they opposed "are as well based as any in physical science, . . . and there is nothing in those theological dogmas more contradictory to our moral sense than is to be found in the facts of nature." When somebody asked his advice as to using alcoholic stimulants for helping in brain-work

he replied that he would prefer a dose of arsenic. In the London School Board he was the leading champion of morality and of the use of the Bible in the public school, saying: "People may talk about intellectual teaching, but what we principally want is moral teaching;" and again, "The most effective help is not scientists and philosophers, but the parson, the sister, the Bible-woman." Of the Bible he wrote: "As English literature, as world-old history, as moral teaching, as the Magna Charta of the poor and the oppressed, as the most democratic book in the world, it cannot be spared. The human race is not in a position to dispense with it, and probably may never be." He admired most of all the Old Testament, and especially the prophecies of Isaiah and Micah, and wondered at the genius for Monotheism and morality manifested by the rude Jewish people, as well he might since it could only have been given them by revelation from God. He despised the Positivist philosophers as the most offensive of humbugs, and the men whom he esteemed most highly were earnest Christians, like Magee, Bishop of Peterborough, Charles Kingsley, and Gordon of Khartoum. He resented the imputation that such agnosticism as he professed was veiled atheism.

The April issue of that rich monthly, *The Century Magazine*, might be called a Burroughs number, as John Burroughs furnishes both an essay on "Literary Values" and a poem, "The Song of the Thrush;" while Edwin Markham contributes a "Birthday Greeting" in verse to John Burroughs on his sixty-fifth anniversary, begging this "Boon fellow of the forest folk, close confidant of reverend oak," to bear with us until he "must be gone to speak with White and Audubon." Among excellent things in the essay we find the following: "Things do not endure in this world without a certain single-mindedness and continence. Trees do not grow and stand upright without a certain balance and proportion. A man does not live out half his days without a certain simplicity of life. Excesses, irregularities, violences, kill him. It is the same with books; they too are under the same law; they hold the gift of life on the same terms. Only an honest book can live; only absolute sincerity can stand the test of time. Any selfish or secondary motives vitiate a work of art, as they vitiate a religious life. Indeed, I doubt if we fully appreciate the literary value of the staple, fundamental human virtues and qualities—probity, directness, simplicity, sincerity, love. There is left as much room and need for the exercise of these qualities in the making of a book as in the building of a house, or in a business career. How conspicuous they are in all the enduring books—in Bunyan, in Walton, in Defoe, in the Bible! It is they that keep alive such a book as *Two Years Before the Mast*, which Louis Stevenson pronounced the best sea story in the language, as it surely is." Good literature may be a much simpler thing than our teachers would have us believe. The prattle of a child may have rare literary

value. The little Parisian girl who, when asked by a lady the price of the trinkets she offered for sale, replied, 'Judge for yourself, madam; I have tasted no food since yesterday,' expressed herself with consummate art. If she had simply said, 'Whatever your ladyship pleases to give,' her reply would have been graceful, but commonplace. By the personal turn which she gave it she added almost a lyrical touch." "The true writer always establishes intimate and personal relations with his reader. He comes forth, he is not concealed; he is immanent in his words, we feel him, our spirits touch his spirit." Something similar is true of the preacher. Sainte-Beuve said that Montaigne's metaphors are never "detached from the thought," but "seize it in its very center, in its interior, and join and bind it." As illustrating how an overweening passion for art degenerates into a love of the artificial for its own sake, Baudelaire is quoted as expressing a preference for metal trees and a theatrical imitation of water, rather than real trees and real water; and for a painted woman's face over one showing natural color. Baudelaire was a Frenchman, and France is the country of artifice and artificiality. Of our New England poets it is said truly that, in all of them, the voice of humanity, of patriotism, of religious ideas, of strenuous moral purpose, speaks; art is subordinated to human passions, sentiments, emotions. Speaking of the use of language as an instrument of the imagination, rather than as a vehicle of thought, Burroughs says: "In Wordsworth's line, 'The last to parley with the setting sun;' in Whitman's sentence, 'O, waves, I have fingered every shore with you;' in Emerson's description of an Indian-summer day, 'The day, immeasurably long, sleeps over the wide, warm fields'—in these and such as these we see the imaginative use of words." John Morley's definition of literature is given: "All the books—and they are not so many—where moral truth and human passion are touched with a certain largeness, sanity, and attractiveness of form." The following is not new, but it is true: "I suppose one comes to like plain literature as he comes to like plain clothes, plain manners, simple living. What grows with us is the taste for the genuine, the real. The less a writer's style takes thought of itself, the better we like it. The less his dress, his equipage, his house, concern themselves about appearances, the more we are pleased with them. Let the purpose be entirely serious, and let the seriousness be pushed till it suggests the heroic; that is what we crave as we grow older and tire of the vanities and shams of the world. To have literary value is not necessarily to suggest books or literature; it is to possess a certain genuineness and seriousness that is like the validity of real things. See how much better literature Lincoln's speech at Gettysburg is than the more elaborate and scholarly address of Everett on the same occasion. General Grant's *Memoirs* have a higher literary value than those of any other general in our civil war, mainly because of the greater simplicity, seriousness, and directness of the personality they reveal. There is no

more vanity and make-believe in the book than there was in the man. Any touch of the elemental, of the veracity and singleness of the natural forces, gives value to a man's utterances, and Lincoln and Grant were undoubtedly the two most elemental men brought out by the war. The literary value of the Bible, doubtless, arises largely from its elemental character. The utterances of simple, unlettered men—farmers, sailors, soldiers—often have great force and expressiveness from the same cause; there are in them the virtue and seriousness of real things. One great danger of schools, colleges, libraries, is that they tend to kill or to overlay this elemental quality in a man—to make the poet speak from his culture instead of from his heart." Among recent books which, like Grant's *Memoirs*, satisfy the taste for the genuine, the real, we may name Booker T. Washington's *Up from Slavery*, and Jacob Riis's *The Making of an American*. Veracity, simplicity, directness, put them both among the remarkable books.

One of the intense and enthusiastic teachers of our day was Professor Joseph Henry Thayer, of the Harvard Divinity School. His lecture on *Books and Their Use* was noticed in these pages a few years ago. An appreciative review of his literary work by Professor Ropes, of the Bangor Theological Seminary, appears in the April number of the *American Journal of Theology* (Chicago). To his students as they went out to life's work this faithful teacher said: "We have made an investment in you; now go and show us some returns." Impressing them with the necessity for industry as the condition of attainment, he said: "Do you wish to become great? Remember, it means more hours at your desk. The greater you desire to become, the more hours you must work." Professor Ropes writes: "Only a consecrated devotion to the Lord Jesus Christ can bring a man into sympathy with the New Testament and enable him to read it in the light in which it was written, under the guidance of the same Spirit. Christ is the heart of the New Testament, and his life pulsates through it everywhere; for, as Professor Thayer used to say, 'Not only were men converted, but also words. New Testament Greek is current Greek born again.'" He was a fervent enthusiast in his devotion to Christ, and to the study of the New Testament as the record and revelation of the Lord Jesus. He contended earnestly for the superiority of that view of Scripture which, in his own words, "remands externalities, whether books or systems, to their proper secondary place, and brings to the front the central and all-conquering truth of Christianity, namely, personal loyalty to a personal Master—the crucified, risen, reigning Christ. That age, that Church, that man cannot go far astray who strives after a life hidden with Christ in God." To him the study of the Bible was worship; his glowing and contagious enthusiasm in such study was a holy fire; slackness in that study was sacrilege, and indifference was irreverence.

BOOK NOTICES.

RELIGION, THEOLOGY, AND BIBLICAL LITERATURE

The Progress of Dogma. Being the Elliott Lectures, Delivered at the Western Theological Seminary, Allegheny, Pa., 1897. By JAMES ORR, A.M., D.D., Professor of Apologetics and Systematic Theology, United Free College, Glasgow. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son. Price, cloth, $1.75.

Anyone who is acquainted with Professor Orr's *Christian View of God and the World* will take up the more recent volume from his pen with the expectation of finding it a vigorous and illuminating treatise. He will not be disappointed. To be sure, he may desire a much fuller exposition of one and another topic than is comprised in this medium-sized volume; but he will confess that the author has compacted into his pages a great amount of matter that is eminently worthy of consideration. By dogma the author understands doctrines that have been clothed in at least measurably distinct formulas and have claimed to a greater or less extent the sanction of ecclesiastical authority. The principal tests of dogma are conformity to Scripture, inner coherence or the harmonious relation of part to part, correlation with vital Christian experience, and the illustration afforded by a prolonged history. The great compendiums of dogma, the historic creeds, represent in no small degree the principle of the survival of the fittest. They are not, indeed, strictly final; as works of the human understanding they are necessarily imperfect. But they inclose materials that have endured a long testing in the fires of controversy. Any development that is to be a development *within* Christianity and not *away* from it must respect them. One thing is certain: "Whatever imperfections inhere in our existing creeds, no phase of doctrine which the Church has with full deliberation rejected—which, on each occasion of its reappearance, it has persisted in rejecting—need raise its head now with any hope of permanent acceptance." Appreciative words are recorded for the writers of the second century. The charge that the apologists neglected the characteristic substance of Christian teaching and dealt only with the tenets of "natural religion" is declared to be overdrawn. It is claimed, moreover, that it was a matter of discretion on the part of the apologists to meet the pagans on grounds for which they had some understanding and appreciation. Note is taken of the suggestive character of the teaching of Irenæus. A theology, it is said, which takes the incarnation for its center, which unites creation in the closest way with redemption, which sees in Christ the "recapitulation" of humanity, which makes great account of the holy obedience of Christ as a means of reconciliation of the sinful race to God, is a theology that is not soon to be left behind by the Church. The Alexandrian school is also credited, in

spite of its too generous appropriation from Platonic speculation, with a valuable contribution. "It bore witness to a truth of no slight importance, namely, that Christianity is the principle of transformation for *all* our humanity." The dogmatic development relative to the Trinity is reviewed by the author from the standpoint of a hearty acceptance of the Athanasian conception. He sets his face steadfastly against subordinationism, and repudiates with vigor the Sabellian interpretation. A theory, he argues, which gives to the person of Christ no other significance than that of a transient form of manifestation is utterly counter to Christian faith and feeling. "The whole Christian hope is bound up with faith in the continued existence of the Redeemer. To speak of the union of the Godhead with him as coming to an end is to dissolve the connection of believers with Christ, and destroy the existence of the Church itself." The professor writes as a warm admirer of the Augustinian anthropology. He undertakes even at some length to apologize for the Augustinian doctrine of predestination, but finally ends up by substituting, under the name of a modification, a doctrine of a very different color. "The fault of Augustine's doctrine," he says, "lies in its regarding the subject too exclusively in its relation to the individual salvation, and not sufficiently in connection with an organic view of the divine purpose in its relation to the world and history. In the scriptural view election stands always in connection with a developing purpose of God, and has for its aim not the exclusion of others, but the ultimate larger blessing and salvation of others. A typical example is furnished in the choice of Abraham. God chose Abraham and made his covenant with him. But this was done not for Abraham's own sake only, but in order that in him all families of the earth should be blessed. It was an election with a view to ultimate comprehension—the choice of one with a view to the blessing of many." In like manner, the professor quietly insinuates an amendment to the Calvinian dogma of predestination which is superbly adapted to displace the pith and marrow of the original dogma. "Calvin," he says, "exalts the sovereignty of God, and this is right. But he errs in placing his root-idea of God in sovereign will rather than in love. Love is subordinated to sovereignty, instead of sovereignty to love. Love takes the direction which sovereignty gives it—it does not regulate the sovereignty." Our author thinks that the Chalcedonian creed sets forth the factors which must be recognized in a true Christology, but that it needs to be supplemented by a conception too little recognized in the era of the Christological controversies, the conception, namely, that the human is not annulled or robbed of its integrity by reunion with the divine, "that it is only as the human takes up the divine in itself, and assimilates it, that it realizes the true and complete ideal of humanity." The radical kenotic theory which assumes a veritable depotentiation of the Logos is regarded by the author as an impossible solution of the Christological problem. "This view," he says, "appears to me to demand

what is inconceivable, that God should cease to be God, that the Son should resign his functions as creator and upholder of the world, and be temporarily blotted out of the life of the Trinity." In view of his antagonistic attitude toward the Ritschlians, among whom Harnack is often mentioned in this volume, the author's estimate of the Ritschlian Christology must be regarded as temperate. He does not expect, indeed, that its attempt to bar out theoretical construction will be a success. "No embargo of this kind can long restrain intellect from putting its old questions as to the real nature and rank of the being to whom it is asked to give its religious confidence and homage. But Ritschlianism has its merit in recalling men's minds from speculative and scholastic subtleties to the historical revelation of God in Christ, by which all Christological theories must ultimately be tested, and takes high ground in its recognition of Christ as the spiritual founder and head of the kingdom of God, who stands in perfect solidarity of will and purpose with God, and gives assurance of his grace." Professor Orr very properly repels the assertion that the mythological conception of the payment of a ransom to Satan was the only, or the prevailing, theory of atonement among the fathers. He notices that Anselm's theory unites with conspicuous points of excellence an unwarrantable use of the idea of merit and debt. In his own thinking he makes room for a penal element in Christ's experience; but he partially forestalls the protest which this phraseology invites by interpreting the penal element as the consequence of Christ's entering into the lot of those who are under bonds to suffering and death. In his very brief reference to eschatology Professor Orr notices that the wider outlook of the present age has engendered a deeper sense of the complexity and difficulty of the problems of human destiny than existed a generation or two ago, and that there is less of a bent now to lift the veil which it is felt God has wisely left on large portions of the future. While confident that the old doctrines for the most part will abide as to substance, our author recognizes that very largely they are taking on a changed aspect. Respecting the new apologetic he says: "It will recognize that the day of hard antitheses is passing. Instead of crudely opposing natural and supernatural, it will prefer to look at their side of relation and friendship—to mark how much of the supernatural there is in what we call natural and how the specifically supernatural is not violently divorced from the natural, but is based on it, analogous to it, and in continuity with it. Instead of treating Christianity as a religion apart from and opposed to all others, it will desire to find points of connection, and to interpret Christianity in the light of the satisfaction it yields to the universal human need." A few items provoke challenge. We find no sufficient ground for supposing that Origen's subordinationism was due to the influence of the Platonic or Neo-Platonic overpressing of the notion of the transcendence of Deity. Origen seems to have been specially fortified against that notion. Again, we are

not persuaded that Nestorius stood at such a remove from orthodoxy, in comparison with Cyril, as is represented. Once more, we think that the somewhat emphatic disparagement of the immediate successors of Arminius must look for its justification in large part to a stalwart ecclesiastical standard rather than to biblical data. On the whole, however, the book shows a discriminating and judicial temper.

The Church's One Foundation. By the Rev. W. ROBERTSON NICOLL, A.M., LL.D. 12mo, pp. 227. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son. Price, cloth, $1.25.

Dr. Nicoll is well known as editor of *The Expositor*, *The Expositor's Bible*, *The Expositor's Greek Testament*, etc. The questions discussed in this book, he says, cannot be left to experts; they concern not merely the health but the very existence of the Church. He has endeavored to make his book intelligible to the plain man. The subject is "Christ and Recent Criticism." On the title-page, as a kind of keynote, is this sentence from Robertson Smith: "There is in the Bible above all the personal Christ, a Personality which men could not have imagined, a Personality which must be historical, a Personality which must be Divine." In that brief and solid sentence there is the outline of a great sermon constructed under three heads. The introduction quotes from Westcott's last book: "Christ the Word, the Son of God, is Himself the Gospel. The Incarnation, the Nativity, the Transfiguration, the Passion, the Resurrection, the Ascension, are the final and absolute revelation to man of God's nature and will. These facts contain, implicitly under the conditions of earth, all that we can know of self, the world, and God, so far as the knowledge affects our religious life." To like effect Dean Church is quoted: "The Christian Church is the most potent fact in the most important age of the world's progress. It is an institution like the world itself, which has grown up by its own strength and according to its own principle of life, full of good and evil, having as the law of its fate to be knocked about in the stern development of events, exposed, like human society, to all kinds of vicissitudes and alternations, giving occasion to many a scandal, and shaking the faith and loyalty of many a son, showing in ample measure the wear and tear of its existence, battered, injured, sometimes degenerate, sometimes improved in one way or another, since those dim and long-distant days when its course began; but showing in all these ways what a real thing it is, never in the extremity of storms and ruin, never in the deepest degradation of its unfaithfulness losing hold of its own central unchanging faith, and never in its worst days of decay and corruption losing hold of the power of self-correction and hope of recovery. . . . And the Christian Church is founded on a definite historic fact—that Jesus Christ Who was crucified, rose from the dead; and coming from such an author, it comes to us, bringing with it the Bible. . . . A so-called Christianity, sneering or playing with Christ's Resurrection, and using the Bible

as a sort of Homer, may satisfy a class of clever and cultivated persons. . . . But it is well in so serious a matter not to confuse things. This new religion may borrow from Christianity as it may borrow from Plato, or from Buddhism, or Confucianism, or even Islam. But it is not Christianity. . . . A Christianity which tells us to think of Christ doing good, but to forget and put out of sight Christ risen from the dead, is not true to life. It is as delusive to the conscience and the soul as it is illogical to reason." Dr. Nicoll says that the Church cannot without cowardice and disloyalty object to biblical criticism, which is, in fact, a study of the Scriptures. But the Church is entitled to ask the critic: Do you believe in the Incarnation and the Resurrection of Christ? If his reply is in the affirmative, then his processes and results are before us for calm, earnest, and sifting examination and scholarly debate. But if his reply is in the negative, he has put himself outside the Church of Christ. And if he evades or refuses to answer, the silence or evasion has to be interpreted and dealt with. The author also correctly says that the first argument for historical Christianity is based upon the fact—a fact attested by the whole history of humanity—that there was need that Christ should come. Dr. Nicoll frankly and severely criticises that insidious, dangerous, pernicious, and destructive work, *The Encyclopædia Biblica*. He points out the decline of Cheyne from the Christian faith, and marks with deep regret the strange descent of A. B. Bruce to the plane of utter naturalism. The ten chapters of Dr. Nicoll's book are entitled, "Christ and the Newer Criticism," "The Modes of Access to Christ," "The Historical Christ: Preliminary Assumption," "The Historical Christ: Ecce Homo: Ecce Deus," "The Sinlessness of Jesus," "The Resurrection of Our Lord from the Dead," "Christ's Triumphant Captives," "The Argument from the Aureole," "The Christ of Dream," "Keep." Our author finds it refreshing and invigorating to face the champions of unbelief, to examine and refute their flimsy and futile theories. He says that Christianity never appears more wonderful than in the light cast upon it by those who cannot receive it because they will not admit the supernatural, thereby beginning with an assumption which makes faith impossible. He affirms that the Church which allows naturalistic interpretations to be substituted for supernatural Christianity will find its fires and its lights burning low and going out, leaving nothing but darkness and chill. He notices the intense malignity with which Zola regards Christianity in every form, and Tolstoy's teaching that every temple raised for worship by human hands in the name of Christ must be destroyed before matters can go well with mankind; and remarks that their views, if carried out, would dissolve society, overturn the family, inaugurate anarchy, and make the world a sty. One valuable quotation is from the venerated Franz Delitzsch on the perpetual miracle of the spiritual life in the hearts and lives of men, from generation to generation, as confirmatory of the miraculous events recorded in the Gospels: "In most

cases indeed is the government of God like the waters of Siloah that go softly; the visible miracles of history are only those flashes from the supernatural activity of God which serve rare and exceptional ends. But the whole work of grace, whether in the experience of individuals or in the history of mankind, even where it is hidden, is supernatural and therefore miraculous; because in the midst of this world, lying under the law of sin and death, it aims at establishing a world of righteousness and glory. . . . The reality of miracles is sealed and attested to me by the miracles of grace which I saw with my own eyes in this blessed valley, the Muldenthal, when I was a young man. And the faith which I professed in my first sermon remains mine to-day, undiminished in strength and immeasurably higher than all earthly knowledge. I stand on the side of the theology of the Cross, and of grace, and of miracles." To which our author adds: "The historical miracles live in the company of the spiritual miracles, and the supernatural is the native air of Christianity. Our Lord himself spoke of greater works that were to follow his miracles, of victories in the moral and spiritual order within the soul of man." And another says: "What is most impressive to-day is not the miracle which some saint is said to have performed, but the miracle through which the saint himself is made."

PHILOSOPHY, SCIENCE, AND GENERAL LITERATURE.

Essays Theological and Literary. By CHARLES CARROLL EVERETT, Late Professor of Theology in Harvard University. Crown 8vo, pp. 358. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Price, cloth, $1.75.

Eight of these essays form one group, treating of the rational basis of religion, the special nature of Christianity, the significance of Kant and Nietzsche, the outcome of naturalistic views, and the parts played by instinct and reason in the construction of religious thought. The other four essays trace these same spiritual ideas in the poetry of Emerson, Goethe, Tennyson, and Browning. Writing of "Reason in Religion" the author has this to say: "The great ideals of the reason are the basis of the largest faith. They rise above the soul like mountain ranges. Our mental and spiritual life is inclosed by them. Mentally and spiritually we live in a valley happy or otherwise, like Rasselas. Not a breath from the outer world can reach us that does not blow across these heights of reason. They stand to us for the outer world; for we cannot help believing that they have their basis also in that. They belong to the soul; and yet we do not doubt that they are the revelation of the true nature of the universe. They are the ideals of the reason; yet we cannot help believing that they are also the ideals of the world. In a word, we must believe that the world is a reasonable world. The day laborer, when he goes to his work in the morning expecting to find the stone wall, which he left half finished the night before, still standing as he left it, shows that he believes that the world is a reasonable world. The mathematician, studying the formulas in accordance with which

some mighty bridge is to be constructed, shows that he believes the world is a reasonable world. The man of science, searching out the laws which control the movements of the planets, those laws which are the same yesterday, to-day, and forever; and the philosopher, searching out the mysteries of the universe—these share the same faith in the reasonableness of the world. And religion utters the same great confidence. The confidence of Kant that what must be done, or ought to be done, can be done, shows his faith that the world is a reasonable one. When Browning says, through the lips of his David:

> Do I find love so full in my nature, God's ultimate gift,
> That I doubt His own love can compete with it? Here the parts shift?
> Here the creature surpass the Creator,—the end what Began?

he appeals to the reasonableness of the world. That the creature should surpass the Creator in power of loving would be too unreasonable, he holds, to be imagined for a moment. When Jesus says, "If ye, then, being evil, know how to give good gifts unto your children, how much more shall your Father which is in heaven give good things to them that ask him?" he appeals to the reasonableness of the world. He meets the error which he would refute by a *reductio ad absurdum;* and every *reductio ad absurdum* derives its force from the universal and instinctive assumption of the reasonableness of the world. The only difference between this assumption as made by religion, and as made in other relations of life, is that religion makes it with a clearer insight into its significance. It perceives that if the world is embodied reason, it must be the manifestation of reason; that if it be a world in which the ideals of the spiritual nature are to be fulfilled, it must be a world that is, in its essence, not material, but spiritual." One of the author's definitions is as follows: "Religion at its best is not trust in an infinite ally who will help us in our contests against rivals or enemies. It is not the seeking to escape from an outward hell, or to reach an outward heaven. But it is the love of what is actually divine and holy, and the yielding one's self to be its instrument." The essay on "The Poems of Emerson" notices how rich this poet is in those "jewels, five words long, that on the stretched forefinger of all time sparkle forever" of which Tennyson wrote; quotable and imperishable sentences like, "Beauty is its own excuse for being," and "Things are in the saddle and ride mankind," and "The silent organ loudest chants the master's requiem," and "When half-gods go the gods arrive." These lines of Emerson would seem to have Robert Browning in mind:

> No jingling serenader's art
> Nor tinkle of piano strings
> Can make the wild blood start
> In its mystic springs.
> The kingly bard
> Must smite the chords rudely and hard,
> As with hammer or with mace.

To the scientific teaching of the *Reign of Law*, Emerson answers that "*conscious* Law is King of kings"—the supreme Power is conscious and personal. The Concord poet regarded the closest ties of personal relationship on earth as a preparation for something higher. "There are," he says, "moments when the affections rule and absorb the man, and make his happiness dependent on a person or persons. But in health the mind is presently seen again, its overarching vault bright with galaxies of immutable lights, and the warm loves and fears that swept over us as clouds must lose their finite character and blend with God to attain their own perfection. But we need not fear that we can lose anything by the progress of the soul. The soul may be trusted to the end. That which is so beautiful and attractive in our relationships here must be succeeded and supplanted by what is more beautiful, and so on forever." What man ought not to be is pictured by Emerson in these lines:

He crouches and blushes,
  Absconds and conceals;
He creepeth and peepeth,
  He palters and steals;
Infirm, melancholy,
  Jealous, glancing around,
An oaf, an accomplice,
  He poisons the ground.

The essay on Goethe's "Faust" points out that Margaret is the embodiment of simplicity, innocence, and self-forgetful goodness of heart. "The purity of her nature shows itself in her anxiety about the religion of Faust. She questioned him, and he answered with that philosopher's creed which has become so renowned. Vischer has indicated the lack in this creed. There is in it no recognition of the moral character of the great Power that is in and through and over all. God is the *good*, and had Faust really felt this and uttered it in his statement of his faith, the interview might have had another ending. As it was, the vague Pantheism of his utterance only smoothed the way for the descent into the awful gulf that yawned under Faust and Margaret." In the essay on "Tennyson and Browning" our essayist writes: "The impression one gathers from Browning is that the true life consists rather in aspiration than in attainment. One of his most exalted poems, which is also one of the most exalted in the whole range of literature, 'Rabbi Ben Ezra,' presents this view of life in striking form: 'What I aspired to be, and was not, comforts me.' 'The Statue and the Bust' presents the same view of life impressively. This poem has been criticised as immoral. In one aspect of it, it teaches a morality that comes very near to that of the Sermon on the Mount. It is based upon an ideal view of life. Sin is in the soul, not in any outward act. It goes further, and implies that life, even if it be a bad life, is better than absolute stagnation; that decision, even if it is wrong, is better than aimless and endless indecision. It utters in modern form the cry of the Hebrew

prophet, 'If the Lord be God, serve him; but if Baal, serve him.' By all means, it would say, serve something. If one would really heed this teaching of Browning, and be *driven to make a conscious choice* between good and evil; above all, if one could really feel that it is the sin in the heart which actually defiles, perhaps 'The Statue and the Bust' would be found one of the most moral poems in the language." The closing essay quotes a significant passage from "Sordello," where Browning first affirms the uselessness to us of a God who is merely a great Power above us, unknown, incomprehensible, and then asserts the immense use of a Christ who makes known and manifests God:

> Ah, my Sordello, I this once befriend
> And speak for you. Of a Power above you still
> Which, utterly incomprehensible,
> Is out of rivalry, unloving all conceived by man—
> What need?
>
> But of a Power, its representative,
> Who, being for authority the same,
> Communication different, should claim
> A course, the first chose, but this last revealed—
> This Human clear, as that Divine concealed—
> What utter need!

Mrs. Orr tells us that "the evangelical Christian and the subjective idealist philosopher were blended in Browning's composition." In "Sordello," and "Saul," and "Christmas Eve," and "Easter Day," and "Pauline," and "The Epistle of Karshish," and "Cleon," and "The Ring and the Book," Christ appears as the manifestation of God.

Psychology and Life. By HUGO MÜNSTERBERG. Professor of Psychology in Harvard University. Crown 8vo, pp. 286. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Price, cloth, $2.

For "a foreigner who is a beginner in the use of English," as Professor Münsterberg apologetically describes himself, he is turning out books in our language with remarkable rapidity, and whatever dispute anybody may have with his views all men must agree that his books are characterized by candor, ardor, force, and intrepidity, and seem like the outgivings of a strong individuality which is flourishing finely in our free, vital, stimulating American air. His preface to this volume says: "I do not want to entertain by these papers, I want to fight; and only those who intend serious and consistent thought ought to take up this unamusing book." He does not expect readers from the class whose mental attitude is based merely on feeling and emotion. "I have nothing in common with them," he says; "I am not a missionary of the Salvation Army." The first of these six chapters gives the fundamental tone and characterizes the problem of the book. This German psychologist in an American university tells us that a naturalistic century lies just behind us.

and that an idealistic century is before us. The physical, the chemical, the physiological, and the biological have had their innings. No Edison and no Roentgen can make us forget that the great historical time of physics and physiology is gone; psychology takes the central place in the thought of our time, and overflows into all the channels of our life. Its period dawned ten or fifteen years ago, and we are living in the middle of it. It began with an analysis of simple ideas and feelings, and it has developed to an insight into the mechanism of the highest acts and emotions, thoughts and creations. It started by studying the mental life of the individual, and it has rushed forward to the psychical organization of society, to social psychology, to the psychology of art and science, religion and language, history and law. It started in the narrow circles of philosophers, and is now at home wherever mental life is touched. To-day the historian strives for psychological explanation, the economist for psychological laws; jurisprudence looks on the criminal from a psychological standpoint; medicine emphasizes the psychological value of its assistance; the realistic artist and poet fight for psychological truth; the biologist mixes psychology in his theories of evolution; the philologist explains the languages psychologically; and while æsthetical criticism systematically coquets with psychology, pedagogy seems ready even to marry her. . . . From the nursery to the university, from the hospital to the court of justice, from the theater to the church, from the parlor to the parliament, the new influence of psychology on the real daily life is felt in this country as in Europe, producing new hopes and new fears, new schemes and new responsibilities. Let us consider the world we live in, from the point of view of this new creed. What becomes of the universe, and of the human race, of our duty and our freedom, of our friends and ourselves, if psychology is not only true, but the only truth, and has to determine the values of our real life?" Against certain objectionable notions the author cries out: "Are 'heroism' and 'hero-worship' empty words? Have Kant and Fichte, Carlyle and Emerson really nothing to say any more, and are Comte and Buckle our only apostles? Do we mean, in speaking of Napoleon and Washington, Newton and Goethe, those complicated chemical processes which the physiologist sees in their life, and those accompanying psychical processes which the psychologist enumerates between their birth and their death? Do we really think historically, if we consider the growth of the nations and this gigantic civilization on earth as the botanist studies the growth of the mold which covers a rotten apple? Is it really only a difference of complication?" The next protest is as follows: "We are asked not only to consider all that the past has brought as the necessary product of psychological laws, but also to believe that all we are striving and working for, all our life's fight—it may be the noblest one—means nothing else than the production of some psychological states of mind, of some feelings of agreeableness; in short, that the tickling sensations are the ideal goal of our

life. The greatest possible happiness of the greatest possible number, that discouraging phrase in which the whole vulgarity of a naturalistic century seems condensed, is it really the source of inspiration for an ideal soul, and does our conscience really look out for titillation in connection with a majority vote?" Of the necessity for combining intellect and conscience, thinking and acting, this is written: "If we say to the intellect, Go on with your analyzing and explaining psychology, but stop halfway before you come to practical acting; and say to our feeling and conscience, Go on with your noble life, but do not try to think about it, for all your values would show themselves as a poor illusion; then there remains only one thing doubtful, whether the conscience or the intellect is in the more pitiable state. Thinking that is too faint-hearted to act, and acting that is ashamed to think, are a miserable pair who cannot live together through a real life." The supremacy of duty is thus touched upon: "Every act of thought, every affirmation and denial, every yes or no which constitutes a scientific judgment is an act of a will which acknowledges the over-individual obligation to decide so, and not otherwise—acknowledges an *'ought,'* and works thus for duty. Far from allowing psychology to doubt whether the real life has duties, we must understand that there is no psychology, no science, no thought, no doubt which does not by its very appearance solemnly acknowledge that it is the child of duties." At the end of his book this psychologist discusses the pretentious claims of the spiritualists. Until recently he had not studied the *Proceedings of the Societies for Psychical Research, Phantasms of the Living,* and similar occult literature. But now he has a positive and intelligent opinion, which is accounted for as follows: "I misused my last summer vacation in working through more than a hundred volumes of the so-called evidence for spirit-apparitions. I passed through a whole series of feelings. At first I had a feeling of mysterious excitement from all those uncanny stories, but this changed into a deep æsthetical and ethical disgust, which flattened finally into the feeling that there was about me an endless desert of absolute stupidity. And I, for one, am to-day far more skeptical than before I was driven to examine the evidences. I have studied the 'proofs,' and now feel sure of what before I suspected—namely, that all the 'proofs' prove nothing. . . . According to the spiritualists thousands of spirits have appeared: and when the ghosts of the greatest men have appeared and spoken, the substance of it has always been the absurdest silliness. Not one inspiring thought has yet been transmitted to us by the 'spirits;' only the most vulgar trivialities. All this business has never helped to find the truth, nor brought forth anything but nervous fear and superstition and fraud." Some years ago a spiritualistic *séance* in Cincinnati printed a message purporting to have been received from Bishop Simpson in the spirit world. It was such imbecile drivel as Matthew Simpson was never known to utter during his life in the flesh. Death is not dementia, and heaven is not an idiot-asylum.

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, AND TOPOGRAPHY.

A Sketch of Semitic Origins, Social and Religious. By GEORGE AARON BARTON, M.A., Ph.D., Associate Professor of Biblical Literature and Semitic Languages in Bryn Mawr College. 8vo, pp. 342. New York: The Macmillan Company. Price, cloth, $3.

This is a book which will start discussion. It seeks to account for the Semitic religions as no other work hitherto published has sought to account for them, for it rests their whole structure practically upon the sexual relations of the early Semites. It is with reference to this point that the preface declares: "It is the writer's conviction . . . that he has chanced upon the trail along which the Semites dragged themselves during those weary centuries when they were working their way from savagery to civilization." To justify and prepare for the application of his principle the author lays down the rule that physical environment determines the form of social organization among a people, and this in its turn determines the form of their religion. Proceeding from this starting point, the book holds that the Semites had their earliest home, after their separation from the parent Hamito-Semitic stock in Africa, in central Arabia. This location required them to be a pastoral and semiagricultural people, in possession of flocks and herds, and at the same time cultivating in the oases the palm tree especially. Such economic conditions developed among them two leading forms of clan life. One form embraced the weaker men with the women and children. It was agricultural in occupation, and in it the women were reckoned as heads of the families, the children being reckoned as their mothers' children and not their fathers'. In this "communal" clan, as it is called, this matriarchate which we have alluded to was accompanied by polyandry and polygamy. Another form of clan was the "republican," in which a body of stronger men, given to the chase, war, and caravan life, are attended by a few of the younger and hardier women. Marriage in this instance is polyandrous, but in the reckoning of kinship the patriarchal rule is observed; that is, the children are counted to the father rather than the mother. A third clan type, the "patriarchal," Dr. Barton does not regularly admit for the earliest Semitic society. In this type the members of the group are given exclusively to pastoral pursuits; polygamy may prevail and offspring are related directly to the father. Regarding the communal and republican clan organization as the primitive form, the discussion in this work assumes among the earliest Semites the prevalence of temporary marriage and promiscuity of the sexes. To these practices emphasis was given in the thought of these people by their culture of the unisexual date palm and its need of artificial fertilization. Out of such social conditions there issued the influences which fixed the form of religious beliefs and worship in ancient Semitic Arabia. Naturally, then, there came into being a belief in a goddess of sensual love and fertility—the primitive deity of the Semites. This goddess was thought to bear a special

relation of patronage to fertility in field, flock, and family. Under her protection were the date tree and the water springs. She was the mother of a son of whose father no account was made, and her worship required especially the sacrifice of maidenly chastity. This is the root from which it is said all the more developed forms of Semitic religion grew. Even the Yahwism of Israel in its loftiest degrees must own this origin. In elaborating his argument Dr. Barton treats in successive chapters "The Cradle of the Semites," "Primitive Semitic Social Life," "Semitic Religious Origins," "Transformations [of deities] among the Southern and Western Semites," "Transformations in Babylonia," "Survivals [of primitive goddess worship]," "Yahwe," and "Semitic Social and Religious Influence on the Non-Semitic World." The book is throughout intensely interesting to a student of social and religious origins. With patience, large learning, and skill, facts are massed and arranged and conclusions presented, until it becomes clear that the case under argument has at least a very able advocate, even if the reader be not completely convinced by what he writes. Much new material is presented and much that will not be new to special students receives a new interpretation, so that those who work in the field of comparative Semitic religion in the future must not leave this work out of their reckoning. Few, however, will feel justified in following the author in his acceptance of sexual relations as almost exclusively the basis of Semitic religion. For ourselves we cannot agree with his antecedent position that primitive Semitic society was even semiagricultural. Semitic tradition, and especially Arab tradition, points to a primitive pastoral stage; and Robertson Smith's declaration, on the ground that most of the agricultural terms connected with the oases of Arabia are not native, that the early population of the country was pastoral still holds good. Barton finds it necessary to assume a primitive matriarchate with attendant polyandry and promiscuity. But, granting these conditions, we can still find them present among purely pastoral nomads, and as a matter of fact are obliged to gather such tokens of these things as there are largely from the records of this kind of Bedouin life. The theory advocated in this volume does not sufficiently explain the element of superstitious fear in the Semitic faiths. Nor does it account for the belief in and dread of spirits. What has been called polydemonism—belief in the universal presence of spirits—is of immemorial antiquity among the Semites, and, assuredly, was a factor in the development of their gods and their theological beliefs. We cannot with our present knowledge believe otherwise. At a number of special points the argument is pushed too far, likewise. The indications looking toward totemism in the Semitic sphere are not at all demonstrative. Robertson Smith deemed them sufficient, and the author of this book is even surer. Both are, in fact, too sure for the evidence in hand. It is a long jump from social abuses in the present day to the constitution of primitive society, and yet that is what is done when

irregularities in the Mecca of to-day are made to support the author's position as to the social life of earliest Arabia. The temporary marriages he speaks of are not meant to be such by the constitution of Meccan social life. The *massebah* (Arabic, *nosb*), so often mentioned in the Old Testament, is not a phallic symbol of deity, but, as the Old Testament itself makes clear, a house or dwelling place of deity. Circumcision is found in so many parts of the earth, and in some cases is older than among the Semites. It appears, therefore, a mistake to connect its origin with the old spring festival of the Semitic race. Where it is so connected the relation should be regarded as the outcome of a development. The author says (page 112) that the oases in Arabia were in the earliest times *himas*, or tracts sacred to the gods. The statement is too general, as only some parts of the fertile country were so consecrated. The goddess al-Uzza seems to be connected in the author's mind with the sacred well Zemzem at Mecca. It is true she was honored by the Qoreish tribe, who lived at Mecca, but her shrine was at al-Nachla, not far distant, and she had also a temple at a place called Buss. The Arabian god Allah was in pre-Islamic times looked upon as the highest god. To identify him with the god Hubal at Mecca is to relate him to a god who was never given such a dignity. On page 235, the Ghabghab, a hole under the idol-stone in connection with some of the idols of early Arabia, is said to be a rivulet or trench emptying into Zemzem. It really was a receptacle which gathered the blood of sacrificial victims and allowed it to soak into the ground. Sometimes offerings of various kinds were placed in it. No ghabghab, as far as we are aware, had anything to do with the holy well of the Kaabah. Dr. Barton says that the compound Ashtar-Chemosh in the Moabite inscription of Mesha represents one god and not two. In view of the well-known fact that Chemosh is a male deity, and that Ashtoreth was on all sides of Moab a female divinity, his view seems to be an impossible one. The influence of Babylonia in Palestine from very early times tended to preserve Ashtoreth in her character as a goddess. The identification of the Khabiri of the Amarna correspondence with the clan Heber is opposed by the extensive character of the Khabiri invasion. This people are not one clan, but many. They represent the sum of the Aramæan invasion of Palestine where and when they appear. Israel was kin to them and may have been given their name in the course of time (Khabiri=Hebrews). The derivation of "Yahwe" from the causative of the Hebrew verb "to be" (הוה) is not probable, on account of such a form of the verb in question not being known in Hebrew. Moreover, if the name be Kenite, is it wise to spend too much labor seeking to account for it by a Hebrew derivation? There are quite a number of misprints, occurring almost altogether in the foreign names and titles which are found in the footnotes, especially in the early pages of the volume. Here and there in the text is a misprint, also (page 153, Naran-Sin; 166, Helévy; 236, Bass; 243,

Dekerto; 289, Schechem; Tyrian, Tyre?; 312, Koldeway). Page 195, note 1, read Jastrow's Religion. Despite any criticism of special points, the book deserves a warm recommendation to those interested in its theme.

Some Heretics of Yesterday. By S. E. HERRICK, D.D. Crown 8vo, pp. 320. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Price, cloth, $1.50.

Several years ago Dr. Herrick, minister of Mount Vernon Church, Boston, delivered these twelve lectures on Sunday evenings to the young people of his congregation hoping to help them in the Christian graces of faith, hope, and charity, and in that Kingdom which is "righteousness, peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost." We are not surprised that the congregation entreated their publication. In their entertaining and earnest pages, the progress of religious thought and of spiritual life during the five centuries from the birth of Tauler to the death of Wesley (1290-1791) is shown in unified succession, and exhibited concretely in the lives of its great leaders. The succession is as follows: Tauler and the Mystics, Wiclif, Hus, Savonarola, Latimer, Cranmer, Melancthon, Knox, Calvin, Coligny, William Brewster, and Wesley. Tauler appeared in a cold and lifeless time when religious thought was purely speculative and religious life was chiefly in externals. Journeying from Paris, where learned professors had expounded to him the philosophy of Aristotle and the speculations of the Schoolmen, this young student, on his way to Strasburg to begin his work as a friar preacher, fell in with Master Eckart, who was teaching the common people with great enthusiasm, giving his hungry hearers, along with his metaphysics, much of the Scripture story in a popular and pictorial form, turning it into parables and allegories, with the supreme aim of making them feel the evil of sin and the necessity of being at one with God. Tauler took up Eckart's truth, adding this to the message, namely, that true piety is in the application of religious principles to real life; so that Tauler, whom some think of as a rapt religious dreamer, was in fact a most sane and practical preacher. Hear the covenant which he made with his Divine Master: "Dear Lord, I here vow and promise to Thee surely, that all which Thou willest I also will. Come sickness, come health, come pleasure or pain, sweet or bitter, cold or heat, wet or dry, whatever Thou willest that do I also will; and desire altogether to come out from my own will, and to yield a whole and willing obedience unto Thee, and never to desire aught else either in will or thought; only let Thy will be accomplished in me in time and in eternity." In the faithful fulfillment of that vow he lived a life, not only of patience and meekness, but of active love and pity—a life so in imitation of Christ that he was called *Doctor Illuminatus*, the Doctor upon whom a great light hath shined. That the heart is the test of character was one of his doctrines: "By the *will* of a man and the measure of love in his soul, shall all his life and works be estimated." The

sacredness of all faithful labor was another: "One can spin, another can make shoes, and all these are gifts of the Holy Ghost. I tell you, if I were not a priest I would esteem it a great gift that I was able to make shoes, and would try to make them so well as to be a pattern to all." This strong, brave, devoted, Christly man shone as a star of the first magnitude in the black night of the Middle Ages. The darkness was passing, that star heralded the morning. In the city of Prague is an illuminated missal showing Wiclif at the top of the page kindling a spark; just below Hus is seen blowing the spark to a flame; and underneath both is Luther brandishing a blazing torch—a picture of the progress of that great Reformation of which Wiclif was the pioneer, in which Hus gave up his life, of which Luther was the consummator, and from which came the freedom and greatness of the three foremost modern powers, free Germany, free England, and free America. Wiclif dared to call the Pope Anti-Christ a century and a half before the Wittenberg monk burned the Pope's bull; and Wiclif sent forth from the Lutterworth parsonage to the common people of England a Bible in their own language one hundred and fifty years before Luther sent forth the German Bible from the towers of the Wartburg. The Word of God was the one thing that Wiclif magnified and made known. The text of his life was, "The sower soweth the Word." What to preach was set forth by him five hundred years ago in a way that is fit for today: "It is God's Word that should be preached, for God's Word is the bread of souls, the indispensable, wholesome bread. God's Word is the life-seed which begets regeneration and spiritual life. Now, the chief business of a preacher is to beget and to nourish up living members of the Church. Therefore it is God's Word he must preach; then only will he succeed in his aims." Milton said that if the perverse prelates of England had not suppressed Wiclif as an innovator and a schismatic, perhaps Hus and Luther and Calvin had never been known nor needed; and the glory of reforming all her neighbors had belonged to England. Wiclif's translation of the Bible liberated Christian faith and hope, and sent them abroad wherever there should be English homes, to brighten and bless them; wherever there should be English toil, to dignify it; wherever there should be English graves, to tell of the Resurrection and the Life. The day of the completion of that translation was the Easter day of the English language. Dr. Herrick's lecture on John Hus, the Bohemian martyr, is prefaced with some words from Marmeau on "The Strength of the Lonely:" "In the lonely struggle of duty, the inevitable loss of human aid must be replaced by our loyalty and alliance with God. He that invented human virtue, and breathed into us our veneration for its greatness; He that loves the martyr-spirit, scorning suffering for the sake of truth; He that beholds in every faithful mind the reflection of Himself; He that hath built an everlasting world, at once the shelter of victorious goodness and the theater of its yet nobler triumphs, enwraps us in

His immensity, and sustains us by His love." Even at the stake Hus was not alone nor afraid. Wrapped in smoke and flame he chanted: "Glory be to God on high, and on earth peace and good will toward men. We praise Thee! We bless Thee! We worship Thee! We glorify Thee! We give thanks to Thee for thy great glory!" These exultant words kept ringing in the ears of the silent crowd, and, when the flames died down and the smoke blew off, all they could see were ashes and bones and some iron links. Savonarola, sentenced to be hanged and burned, goes cheerfully to the gibbet, saying, "My Lord was pleased to die for my sins; why should I not be glad to give up my poor life for love of Him?" Concerning the preaching of John Knox, an English ambassador wrote: "The voice of one man is able in an hour to put more life and stoutness of heart in us than six hundred trumpets continually blustering in our ears." The lecture on Calvin says that one weakness of Calvinism is in exaggerating the force and authority of logic. [When Dr. A. J. F. Behrends tried to force some theological conclusion on Dr. Charles H. Hall by a process of logic, the venerated rector of Holy Trinity, Brooklyn, exclaimed impatiently, "I don't take any stock in logic in such matters."] Dr. Herrick justly writes: "There are regions over which logic cannot be supreme, which, indeed, it cannot enter. Its conclusions do not hold in the realm of love, of faith, of penitence, of prayer, of adoration, and of hope. In that border land where the finite meets the Infinite, where time touches eternity, where the Spirit of God and the spirit of man encounter and transact—at that point where the Father falls on the neck of his child and kisses him, dialectics cease. . . . Nor can any one man, or any one age, interpret God and His Word for all men and all ages. Neither Augustine, nor Calvin, nor any of their successors, has been empowered to say, 'My interpretations are ultimate and infallible.' Systems of theology change with the widening of men's minds and the testing of the years. Paul intimates that what we now call knowledge may pass away. One indestructible Fact abides—the Fact of Christ. Other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, which is Jesus Christ."

John Alexander Roche, M.D., D.D. Autobiography and Sermons. 12mo, pp. 333. New York: Printed by Eaton & Mains. Price, cloth, $1.25.

This volume is a very complete presentation of a marked personality and a diligent and distingished life. The face and signature fronting the book, the accurate drawing of the filial tribute written by Dr. Roche's sons, and the eulogies elicited at his death, added to the autobiography and sermons which give his individual style of expression, furnish altogether a vitascopic series of pictures in which the man in action moves before us in the progress of his strenuous and ardent life. The filial tribute to a father's sacred memory is in perfect taste. The autobiography is a realistic story of itinerant experiences and church life in a former generation, with

many interesting reminiscences of men and women and events on the Eastern Shore of Maryland, in Virginia and Pennsylvania, in Philadelphia, New York, and Brooklyn. Great dignity, lofty aspirations, an imperious sense of duty, dauntless resolution, and indefatigable toil characterize his eighty-five years of life and his fifty-eight years of successful labor in the ministry. Gifted with extraordinary fluency, he gave great attention to the mastery of style. A speech for debate, a funeral address, a discourse for some special occasion, he would write and rewrite ten, twenty, even fifty times. He was forever correcting his own compositions. He had been known to recast entirely the same sermon six times in as many days. Even prayer meeting talks were written over and over with laborious pains. His ardor in study, from his earliest ministry to the end of life, is like that of John P. Newman, who, when a young man in New York city, dividing expenses of room, light, etc., with his roommate, was told by his chum that he must pay more than half for the candles, because he consumed them by studying very late at night. The ordinary and the commonplace were intolerable to John A. Roche: in his life and manner and utterance all was grand, elevated, inspired, erect, all occasions were state occasions, as if compassed about by a cloud of celestial witnesses. In it all is seen the power of high ideals, passionate devotion, sustained enthusiasm, phenomenal endurance, holy zeal, and intense concentration to glorify life and make it sublime. Then, too, the militant spirit flames, the sense of resolute conflict and the elation of victory, the joy of going forth conquering and to conquer, in the name of the Lord, through no matter what trials, hardships, discouragements, disappointments, oppositions. The fourteen sermons on such themes as "The Triumph of the Gospel," "The Joy of the Lord," "The Pleasantness of Religion," "Paul at Athens," "The Valley of Dry Bones," "Not by Might," "Naaman," and "The Transfiguration," give Dr. Roche's style of preaching, and explain in part why he commanded not a few of the most important pulpits of his time. For much quotation we have not space, but here is a bit from a sermon dealing with "Excuses:" "Do not say that you have not knowledge enough. Listen to the child's prayer, and see in it elements which you understand well enough to be saved. 'Now I lay me down to sleep; I pray the Lord my soul to keep.' Then there is a Lord? Yes. He is our Keeper? Yes. 'If I should die before I wake, I pray the Lord my soul to take.' Then I have a soul? Then God takes it, or the enemy may; and I pray the Lord to take it. 'And all I ask for Jesus' sake.' Then my prayer to God for my soul is through my Saviour, Jesus Christ! Sirs, there is enough sound theology in that little prayer to make the most desolate island light in the Lord—enough to make the coldest hearts in heathendom glow with the fires of God's altar. My friend, you can't be excused on the ground of lack of knowledge, for in His light you see light, and wayfaring men, though fools, need not err therein." Dr. Roche's style

lives especially in that admirable biography from his pen, the *Life of Rev. John Price Durbin, D.D.* Among the memorial tributes printed in the volume before us none is more eloquent, more just, or more felicitous than the address before the New York Preachers' Meeting by Rev. Dr. Thomas L. Poulson.

MISCELLANEOUS.

The Riddle of Life. By J. Wesley Johnston. Crown 8vo, pp. 399. Cincinnati: Jennings & Pye. New York: Eaton & Mains. Price, cloth, ornamental, $1.50.

We suspect this Riddle to be an allegory. Florida travelers tell of the Silver Spring, fifty feet deep or more, so crystal clear that a book dropped in it and lying open on the bottom can be read by good eyes looking down from the surface. Leaning over this new volume of Dr. Johnston's, and looking down into it, we think we see at the bottom of it a book, which seems to us to be a Bible, open at the third chapter of Genesis. The Scripture account of the Temptation and Fall of Man really underlies all the circling currents of *The Riddle of Life.* The brooding reader who looks into the depths of this novel will see that at the bottom. It is easier to perceive than the features of the Man in the Moon, and far easier to find than the head of the woman in the moon. This story is no strained and unnatural invention, but a transcript of human life as it is lived by flesh-and-blood men and women; no fanciful tale of "old, far-off unhappy things, and battles far away," but a drama which transacts its business on modern streets, showing us men and women of our own time, with gait and gossip, dress and interests like ours, in the light of common day, and in the *sturm und dreng*, the perilous strategy, the thrust and counter-thrust, the uplifts and downfalls of moral conflict. The story is thickly populated with strongly differentiated characters, vivid, vital, energetic, and there is no lack of action. Things happen, life is astir. We are sometimes thankful we have not been called to write fiction; for we do not see how we could sleep o' nights, with such a crowd of lively tenants teeming in our incommodious brain, talking, scheming, conniving, quarreling, making love, and generally doing things. "Ought ministers to write novels?" asked a lady of her pastor, who replied: "I am not surprised that some of them do write novels, and powerful ones, too. My wonder is that so many of them keep from doing it. For they are so full of 'stuff,' they come to know so many strange life histories, so many pathetic, mysterious, astonishing secrets; they see so deep into the crises of existence and the unduplicated experiences of individual souls, that ordinary fiction seems tame and trite in comparison." Dr. Johnston's new story, like his earlier *Dwellers in Gotham*, is a tale of modern New York, a world which he has studied for years with observant eye, analyzing mind, and sympathetic heart. The time "when knighthood was in flower" is now and here, and the place of its blooming is on the streets and boats and cars where we ourselves rush to and fro in the strenuous drive of life as depicted here.